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THE VOICE OF THE SCHOLAR

THE VOICE OF THE SCHOLAR

WITH OTHER
ADDRESSES ON THE PROBLEMS
OF HIGHER EDUCATION

BY

DAVID STARR JORDAN

PRESIDENT OF
LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

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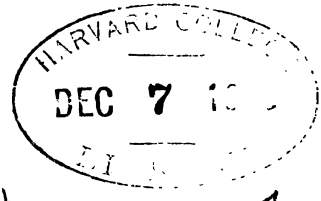

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TO
ANDREW DICKSON WHITE
IN
TOKEN OF ADMIRATION AND
RESPECT

The present volume contains a number of addresses on educational subjects delivered by the author on various occasions within the last five years. Most of them were first given to Stanford audiences. Of the others, "The University and the Common Man" was given at the University of Washington, that on the "Personality of the University" at the University of California, and that on "College Spirit" at the University of Missouri. That these discourses occasionally repeat each other or double on the same track is explained, if not excused, by the fact that the same author, in such cases, is dealing again with the same topic. The publishers express their indebtedness to the editors and publishers of the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Popular Science Monthly*, the *Forum*, the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, and the *Independent*, for the privilege of reprinting these addresses as published in the magazines in question.

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I.

THE VOICE OF THE SCHOLAR.

THE greatest need of popular government is the university. The greatest need of higher education is democracy. The scholar and the man must work together. The free man must be a scholar. The scholar must be a man.

It is not the necessary function of democracy to do anything very well. There is nothing in collective effort which ensures right action. Its function is to develop intelligence and patriotism through doing for ourselves all things possible which concern us individually or collectively. To take responsibility is the surest way to rise to it, but the time may be long and errors may be costly. Courage and willingness do not guarantee success. Exact knowledge and thorough training are essential to right results. In these regards, democracy is, in the nature of things, deficient. These the university must contribute. Government by the people needs its trained and educated men more than any other kind of government; for while monarchy seeks far and wide for strong men and wise to be used as its tools, strength and wisdom is the daily life of successful democracy. But democracy is always prone to undervalue wise men, and

imagines vainly that it can get along well enough without their help.

On the other hand, the university needs the people. In their wants and their uplifting it finds the best reason for its existence. "The bath of the people," which Lincoln said was good for public men, is essential to the university. It keeps it in touch with life. It holds it to humanity.

Those who regard higher education as a social ornament, valueless except as a badge for the delight of its possessor, and those who regard culture as the private perquisite of the elect few, are alike in the wrong. The presence of men of culture and training raises the value of everything about them. It ensures the success of enterprise, the safety of person and property, the contact with righteousness of thought and action, which is the mainspring of right thought and right deed in the future.

Moreover, if clear thinking with clean living is good for the elect few, it is equally good for the mutable many. Culture not only raises the man above the mass, it turns the masses into men. That the multitude may imagine themselves men before they hold a man's grasp on life, is the grievous danger of democracy. Here again the university plays its part, teaching the relative value of ideals. Under its criticism men learn that good results are better than good intentions, and that they demand a far higher order of skill and courage.

I heard a man say the other day that the university men were not on his side of a certain question. In fact, he said, the college men are always on the contrary side on every question. This is probably true in the sense he meant; for it is the province of college men to judge intentions and pretenses by ultimate results. When the final end, according to the experience of human wisdom, is sure to be bad, wise men must oppose the beginning. The universities have many times stood in opposition to the popular feeling of the time, but they have never found their condemnation in the final verdict of history. Only he who has studied the affairs of men critically, impartially, coldly, can discover the real trend of forces in the movements of today. This the university has means to do. It does not carry elections, in fact it has seldom tried to do so; for the results of an election play a very small part in the evolution of democracy: not to carry elections, but rather to carry wisdom to the people, that is something worth doing. The words of experience which are wasted in the noise of the shoutings become potent as the tumult passes by.

The people suffer many ills in our social order, for most of which they alone are responsible. Because men are not wise, they know not what to do. In ignorance and weakness they find themselves the sport of fate, the flotsam of "manifest destiny," the victims of evils that wisdom and virtue instinctively avoid.

Next to knowing what to do, is the willingness to

believe that some one else possesses this knowledge. Scepticism as to the existence of skill and intolerance toward the possessor of knowledge are common features of democracy. This is its vulgar side, the disposition to do mean things in a mean way, doubting that there exist any better things or better ways of doing them. Through this kind of vulgarity, the average American is his own physician, healing himself with drugs of which he does not even know the name. As a result, he suffers half his life from self-inflicted poisoning. The American is his own architect, and for this reason our cities are filled with buildings in which nightmares might house, were it not for their fresh paint and smart ornamentation. The American is his own statesman, following his own impulses, guided by his own prejudices. Thus he fills the land of the free with oppression and injustice. When he can no longer shut his eyes to the misery he has wrought he falls back on his good intentions, casting the blame for his blunders on impersonal destiny.

The sense of personal responsibility and personal adequacy which democracy gives is of vital importance in the development of man. But it has its bad side as well as its good. It is the function of the university to struggle against the bad, day and night, in season and out of season, to convert it into the good. That vulgarity is free to express itself in our system does not exalt vulgarity. In the long run, vulgarity finds its surest cure in freedom.

The people at large even yet do not understand nor value knowledge and power. Only those who know well and see clearly can do well. Knowledge does not flatter nor coddle, and men take to that which pleases them. The fact that the majority do not believe in knowledge is the reason why the university must always be in opposition to prevailing sentiment and current action. "When were the good and true ever in the majority?" There are not many of those who speak and write on public affairs who really care for what is just. The interest of most men lies in the success of the "cause." But the "cause," whatever it may be, is only an incident in intellectual awakening, a mere episode in social development. It is in the actual truth that the public weal is bound up. No honest or worthy cause appeals to the self-pity of those it addresses. All calls to the weakness or vanity or prejudice or passion of men are dishonest. All dishonesty results in evil. Virtue that can last rests on growing honesty and growing wisdom. Because the university stands for the free search for truth, its influence must be opposed to that of passion and prejudice. It must be above the heats of the hour, and therefore in some degree antagonistic to them. Thus those who strive on the sands of the arena find the university distant and cold. This again is its danger, that it shall be cold and distant. Never to "vex at the land's ridiculous miserie" was an old ideal of the university. It is an ideal long cherished in the great

universities of England. But it was never a worthy ideal. To exist for the needs of the people is a mission worthy of Oxford or Harvard or Berlin. It is the final, highest function of all the glorious brotherhood of plain life and high thought.

To keep up wisdom among men is the natural function of the university. The need of the times is not of men to die for the right, but of men to live for it; not of men to oppose popular feeling nor even to rouse the public conscience. Better than this, is to train the public thought. What we want is not a revival of zeal, even for the cause of righteousness, but rather a revival of wisdom. This is followed by no chill nor backsliding, while zeal, however well-meaning, is subject to ebbs and flows.

I heard a very rich man say not long ago that he had no faith in higher education. "Nine college men out of every ten," he said, "build up a wall between themselves and life." By life, he seemed to mean the business of making money. If this be life, the statement may be true, but even judged by this standard, we must believe that it was an inferior kind of college men who thrust themselves upon his notice. Some people look upon men as useful only as they can use them. The rest are merely competing organisms, poor beggars who ought to be got under ground as soon as possible, to save the cost of their keep. But it is not true that most college men build up a wall between themselves and life. If this has been true in any individual

case, it was because the man was not worth educating or because the education itself was spurious. For higher education cannot make a man where manhood did not exist before. It can only take a man already created and raise him to higher effectiveness. Moreover, there are frauds and imitations in education as well as anywhere else, and misfit articles are thrown on the market, cheap, every day. It is said that "our schools which teach young people to talk do not teach them how to live." If this is true, it means that some schools are shams, not giving real education. But it is not by mistakes and misfits that higher education is to be judged. It is by its finished and adapted product. In every walk in life the higher education works to the benefit of humanity. The man who knows one thing well can do it well. His presence in life is a help to his neighbor. He does not enter into competition, but into elevation. He makes respectable the business of living.

In a recent number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Dr. William DeWitt Hyde gives a striking account of the value of the life work of a single scholar, the honored President of Harvard:

"No one can begin to measure the gain to civilization and human happiness his services have wrought. His leadership has doubled the rate of educational advance not in Harvard alone, but throughout the United States. He has sought to extend the helping hand of sympathy and appreciation to every struggling

capacity in the humblest grammar grade; to stimulate it into joyous blossoming under the sunshine of congenial studies throughout the secondary years; to bring it to a sturdy and sound maturity in the atmosphere of liberty in college life; and finally, by stern selection and thorough specialization, to gather a harvest of experts in all the higher walks of life, on whose skill, knowledge, integrity, and self-sacrifice their less trained fellows can implicitly rely for higher instruction, professional counsel, and public leadership. In consequence of these comprehensive forms, we see the first beginnings of a rational and universal church, not separate from existing sects, but permeating all; property rights in all their subtle forms are more secure and well defined; hundreds of persons are alive today, who, under physicians of inferior training, would have died long ago; thousands of college students have had quickened within them a keen intellectual interest, an earnest spiritual purpose, a 'personal power in action under responsibility,' who under the old régime would have remained listless and indifferent; tens of thousands of boys and girls in secondary schools can expand their hearts and minds with science and history and the languages of other lands, who but for President Eliot would have been doomed to the monotonous treadmill of formal studies for which they have no aptitude or taste; and, as the years go by, hundreds of thousands of the children of the poor, in the precious, tender years before their

early drafting into lives of drudgery and toil, in place of the dry husks of superfluous arithmetic, the thrice-threshed straw of unessential grammar and the innutritious shells of unrememberable geographical details, will get some brief glimpse of the wondrous loveliness of nature and her laws, some slight touch of inspiration from the words and deeds of the world's wisest and bravest men, to carry with them as a heritage to brighten their future humble homes and gladden all their afterlives. In such 'good measure, pressed down, shaken together, running over,' has there been given to this great educational reformer, in return for thirty years of generous and steadfast service of his university, his fellow men, his country and his God, what, in true Puritan simplicity, he calls 'that finest luxury, to do some perpetual good in the world.'"

Not long since one of our writers expressed regret at the numbers of young men sent forth each year from the universities to swell the educated proletariat of America. His assumption is that each is to scramble for his living, struggling with his competitors, dissatisfied because his ambitions far outrun every possible achievement. The very reverse of this is the fact in America, whatever may be the case elsewhere, as, for instance, under the "bed-ridden officialism of France." The man of character who is educated aright with us finds very soon his place in the community. Before he came he may not have been wanted, but

once in his position, everybody seems looking for him. The college men of America need no help and no pity from any source. They can take care of themselves and they can take care of others. To them as to Emerson, "America means opportunity," and there are more opportunities today than ever before to the man who is able to grasp them. But to grasp the greater opportunities, the first essential is not to despise the smaller ones. An education that turns a man away from any honest work, however humble, that lies in the line of duty, is not sound education. That some education is unsound and that some men are unmanly in nowise shows that real training does not strengthen real men.

Each year makes higher demands, it is true. There are fewer things worth having to be had for the simple asking. This is because the nation is growing more critical. It is beginning to demand fitness, not alone mere willingness. The opportunities it has to offer are falling into the hands of trained men, and these men demand still higher training from those who are to be their successors.

A skilled engineer will not choose as his assistant and successor a man who knows wheels and engines only by rule of thumb. An educated chemist will not make way for a druggist's clerk; nor a graduate of West Point, for a politician's parasite whose military training was gained as elevator boy or as driver of a beer wagon. Training counts alike in all walks of

life, in a democracy not less than in an empire. As the people come to understand the reality of knowledge, so will they learn to appreciate its worth.

Another very rich man doubted the value of college education; at the same time he placed the highest estimate on applied chemistry, because through the skill of the chemist employed in his steel manufactory, he laid the foundations of his own wealth. But applied chemistry rests on the broader chemistry not yet applied, and is a part of higher knowledge. To train chemists is likewise a part of the higher education. Higher education consists no longer, as many seem to suppose, in writing Latin verses, and reading mythology in Greek. These things have their place, and a great place in the history of culture, but it is to "Greek-minded men and Roman-minded men" that they belong. They form no longer the sole avenue by which the goal of the scholar can be reached.

The keynote of the modern university is its usefulness. Its help is no longer limited to one kind of man or one kind of ability, cramping or excluding all others. It welcomes "every ray of varied genius to its hospitable halls." It is its highest pride that no man who brings to its classrooms brains and courage is ever turned away unhelped.

Because of this broadening of university ideals, there are ten college students in our country today where there was one twenty years ago. For this reason, the same twenty years has witnessed a marvel-

ous expansion in all universities where generous ideals have found lodgment.

Where the old notion that all culture runs in a single groove, still obtains; where it is attempted to train all men by one process, whatever this process be, there is no growth in numbers, no extension of influence, no sign of greater abundance of life. Just in proportion as constructive individualism in education has been a guiding principle, have our universities grown in numbers and influence. In this proportion and for this reason have they deserved to grow. For this reason James Bryce declares that of all results of democracy, the American university offers the largest promise for the future.

The scholar in the true sense is the man or woman for whom the schools have done their best. The scholar knows some one thing thoroughly and can carry out his knowledge into action. With this, he must have such knowledge of related subjects and of human life as will throw this special knowledge into proper perspective. Anything less than this is not scholarship. The man with knowledge and no perspective is a crank, a disturber of the peace, who needs a guardian to make his knowledge useful. The man who has common sense, but no special training, may be a fair citizen, but he can exert little influence that makes for progress. There may be a wisdom not of books, but it can be won by no easy process. To gain wisdom or skill, in school or out, is education. To do

anything well requires special knowledge, and this is scholarship whether attained in the university or in the school of life. It is the man who knows that has the right to speak.

That monarchy needs the university has been recognized ever since culture began. The universities of Europe were founded by the great kings; the wiser the king the more he felt the need of scholars as his helpers. So Alfred founded Oxford and Charlemagne the University of Paris, while the founder of the University of Berlin well deserved the name of "Great," even though it were for nothing else. In the darkest days of Holland, William the Silent erected the University of Leyden. He needed it in his struggle against Spain. He needed it in the warfare for independence. A university breeds free men, men whom physical force cannot bind.

But the need of the monarchy for men of high culture and exact training is less than that of the democracy. Under a monarchy such men must hold office. In a democracy they must hold the people. They must form fixed points in the civic mass, units of intelligence, not to be bribed nor stampeded.

The presence of the king is not the essential feature of a monarchy. It is the absence of the people. Where the people are not consulted, it is not vital to the government that they be wise, nor even that wise men should be among them. In fact they are more easily handled without this kind of obstruction.

Therefore the tendency of monarchy is to separate the men from the mass, as we may choose the sheep from among the goats. But in a democracy, those who are ruled must also rule. They have no less need of individual wisdom, but they must have it diffused among themselves, not concentrated in a class above. Nothing can be done for a democracy save what the people do for themselves. It is impossible to provide for it an educated oligarchy. Its public servants are of its own kind, its agents or its attorneys, in no sense its rulers, not often even its leaders. For the most part, therefore, the wisest men in the democracy will not be in office. The voice of wisdom should rise from the body of the people to the throne of power. When a democracy needs a leader in the seat of authority, it is because it has gone out of its way in one fashion or other. Going out of its way, it has come to a crisis. The cause of every crisis, in a democracy, is a mistake of one sort or another. A crisis arises with a question of right and wrong. Such a question never becomes a burning one unless the popular feeling has somewhere gone wrong and worked itself out in wrong action.

When this is the case, it is the scholar's business to know it. He is the sensitive barometer which first feels the lowered pressure of rejected duty, the first warning of the coming storm. The warning he gives, his neighbors will not receive with favor. He will not receive a "donation party" nor a vote of thanks, nor

a new pair of boots for giving it expression, but it is his business to speak and he cannot remain a scholar if he takes refuge in silence. Dr. Norman Bridge has well expressed a similar thought in these words:

"The mere fact that one or two men in a hundred are known to be uninfluenced by the clamors of any rabble, good or bad, is to any community a force of unspeakable value. The excitable ones know well that the fiftieth man must be met and conciliated or overcome in any hot-headed movement. He is a factor as a voter and a citizen that cannot be ignored, and he exercises a wholesome, regulating and modifying, often repressive influence on the hasty tendencies of the crowd. The thieves of the public treasury, of all classes and shades, are afraid of him. Even one forceful man in a hundred thousand may have an amazing influence on public affairs if he has the time and inclination to devote to disinterested care of the public interests. There are a few such men in each of our large cities. In one of the large centers of the East a wealthy man of leisure was for many years a terror to the hot-headed and the filchers of the public, and solely because he gave himself to the task, and they knew they would have to meet him at every turn. This one man in the multitude may be called a croaker or a fossil, but often he is the sole force that is able to check the rising of the mob or the stampede of the army, or to compel men to stop and think before taking action that may be hasty or regretable."

The scholar will not go far out of his way in matters of this kind. Because his knowledge is intense, it must be correspondingly narrow. The tendencies to good and evil in our social condition are so varied and so intertangled, that those who trace out the relations of one set of combinations must perforce neglect the others. The scholar who raises his voice against unjust or unwise taxation may be silent on the question of misapplied charity. The scholar who becomes an authority on the purity of water cannot be an equal judge of the purity of elections. The expert on electricity is not necessarily the best judge of ghost stories. He may be so, but we cannot expect it. Each must do his own part in his own way, in his own section of the field of knowledge. Each must say his own word as his own truth comes to him, though he know that his own times let it pass unheeded, and though he know that his voice be overborne by the louder tones of mere pretenders to knowledge. For it is one of the conditions of democracy that wisdom and its counterfeit go along together side by side. There can be no tag or label to mark one from the other, and the people would not heed them if there were. We can only know wisdom from imposture by its results, or by the test of our own wisdom. The government cannot brand a Keeley lest the public mistake him for a Faraday. A Tesla and a Helmholtz pass as alike great, and for the public he is greatest whose name is oftenest in the daily newspapers. All this is well. It is better for

men to choose the voice of wisdom for themselves rather than to have it infallibly pointed out to them by the government. For the seat of wisdom is in the individual soul, and it grows through individual effort.

The scholar is silent for the most part in the rush and hurry of the world. When he has no reason for speaking he reserves his strength for his own due season and his own line of action. But he must be free to speak when needs arise. He cannot breathe in confined air, and his speech or his silence must be at his own will, subject to his own conscience and to the demands of truth.

In our days men talk too much, in the papers, in the magazines, in the open atmosphere. They fill the literary air with vain shoutings. But there can never be too clear or too frequent statement of the results of real knowledge. The old elementary truths of justice and humanity need to be recalled to us day after day, while on the other hand the discoveries of science give us better tools and surer command over the forces of nature. The voice of the oldest and the newest must together somehow reach our ears, if our actions are to be righteous and our enterprises successful.

To the scholar we must look for this. Only he who knows for himself some truth which rests on the foundations of the Universe has a right to the name of scholar. And the scholar will speak when the due time comes for speaking. Whatever our creeds and con-

ventions, he will break through them with the truth. He can never afford to do less, if the truth he utters be really his own, and the outcome of his own contact with the powers that never lie. No authority can bend him to silence; no title can bribe him; no force can close his mouth. He must, if need be, have the spirit of the martyr. He must consider, not the consequences to himself, to his business, to society,—only the demands of truth.

That the scholar must speak, again emphasizes his need of common sense. Common sense is that instinct which throws all knowledge into right perspective. It rests on sound habits of orientation. He who knows where the sun rises never fails to make out all the other points of the compass. This power the schools alone cannot give. They can strengthen it, but they cannot create it, and they must not take it away. It is the foundation of all true culture, for science is only enlightened common sense.

As a part of common sense, the scholar must distinguish his truth from his opinions. He must not mistake for the eternal verity his own prejudice, his own ambition, or his own desire. For he is human on all his human sides and is subject to temptations that master other men. He is in better form to resist, no doubt, but that does not insure immunity. Moreover, his truth may be only half truth at the best, and the other half truths may seem to contradict it. To know a half truth from a whole one is the part of common

sense. But common sense is a possession still more rare than learning. When scholars forget, their voices arise in discord, and this discord casts discredit over knowledge. When half truths are set off one against another, we may find displayed all the vulgarity of intolerance in quarters where intolerance should be unknown. All this should teach the scholar modesty. It should warn him of the need of charity, but it should not silence his voice.

He must speak, he will speak, and it is for the safety of democracy that sooner or later his word is triumphant. The final outcome of all action rests with the educated man. Not all the politicians of all the parties in all the republics have secured so many final victories in thought and action as the universities.

I read lately of an attempt to show that the scholar or the clergyman should never write or speak on any public or passing question lest he expose himself to criticism or find his personality tumbled about in the dust of the political arena. The clergyman devotes his life to the study of moral questions in the light of religion. The scholar devotes himself to the study of truth wherever found and of the ways by which truth may be available to men. If the scholar and the clergyman are to be silent on questions of vital interest to men, who indeed is to speak? Is it the politician of the day, a mere echo without an idea of his own? Is it the man of money, who may have an axe to grind in every move-

ment in public affairs, or who again may be seeking undisturbed possession of that which justice would place in other hands? Is it the popular agitator to whom the social order is one long fit of hysteria? Must we confine all public utterance to those whose passions are excited or whose interests are touched? Shall Emerson and Lowell, Theodore Parker and Phillips Brooks be silent when the fighting editor speaks?

The scholar should be above all influences of passion or profit. He should speak for the clear, hard, unyielding, unflattering, unpitying truth. If he enters the arena, he must as a man take his chances with the rest. His thoughts must be his only weapon. Passion, rhetoric, satire, these are arms for weaker men to use, not for the scholar. His only sword is the truth. His personal credentials may be challenged. He will meet the scorn of men who do not know the truth when they see it, and to whom thought seems but a puny weapon. More than this, he will meet as adversaries scholars, real or pretended, men who see the truth from a single side, or who have never seen it at all, yet feign to be its defenders.

As to all this, the scholar must be patient. If he is right, the ages will find him out. If he is wrong, the fault is with his own weakness, not with truth. He must be loyal to the best he knows, caring no more for majorities than the stars do, unshaken by feeling, by tradition, or by fear. The voice of the clamorous

mob on the one hand is no more to him than the dictum of a pope or a king, or all antiquity. Nor is it less; for one or all of these are matters not to be taken in evidence when the scholar makes his final decision.

The rabble of today which the scholar has to face is not the rabble of yesterday. The axe and the fagot, the club and the paving stone have as means of argument gone out of date. The weapon of the mob of today is mud. When a scholar stands for unwelcome truth, the answer of the day is personal abuse. To a man the rabble cannot understand are ascribed all the vulgar motives of the rabble. His words and his teachings are distorted and vulgarized until the multitude recognize them as brought down to their own level.

In this gloomy outlook, the scholar has two facts of consolation. Truth is a statue to which mud can never stick. The man without brains is the man without influence. A little patience and the human storm will pass by, the atmosphere will clear, and again, with Emerson, the scholar shall behold above him "the gods sitting alone on their thrones; they alone and he alone."

The university is an association of scholars. It stands for the free judgment and the free proclamation of truth; without these it can stand for nothing else. But our idea of academic freedom must be cast on broad lines. It is the prerogative of high-minded

men, men of sound life and mature character, who should deal with large issues sanely and seriously. We may not dignify by the name of freedom the boy's play of scholarship or the issues of the debating society. The privilege of college instructors to use the academic halls as a safe shelter in which to spin social cobwebs, or from which to throw epithets at tradesmen or corporations, at churches or politicians, is now in some quarters called academic freedom. By some this is held to be the noblest privilege of the scholar. It may indeed be something worth striving for, but it is not the freedom for which our academic fathers fought. The right to say anything anywhere, to any audience, without regard to fitness, truth or justice, is not a right of the real scholar in the real university. It savors rather of the yellow journalism. When unseemly things are done or done on unseemly occasions, they must be judged by society's laws of fitness, not by any artificial code of the academy.

"When serious people," says Francis F. Browne, "set themselves to discussing the principle of *Lehrfreiheit*, they are thinking of something very different. They are thinking of the deliberate attempts of obscurantist and reactionary authorities to stifle intellectual endeavor, and to impede the progress of great creative ideas that from time to time transform our modes of thought. They are thinking of such things as the occasional official efforts made in Germany dur-

ing the last century to force all university teaching into conformity with the ideas of the monarchy and the established church. They are thinking of such things as the effort, made so energetically in the generation just preceding our own, to deny a hearing to the doctrine of evolution, and to discourage its promulgation in the recognized institutions of learning. They are thinking of all sorts of attempts to influence or cajole or threaten thinkers of achieved reputation, in order that the fabric of conventional falsehood may not be undermined and totter to its fall. * * * It is when we try to imagine a case of this sort that we come fully to understand how securely the principle of *Lehrfreiheit* is guarded by the authorities of our great universities, and how certainly, should they once fail in their trust, would they be forced back into the path of duty by the overwhelming pressure of public opinion."

Academic freedom therefore demands personal responsibility. There must be degrees in this as well as in other sorts of freedom. We say sometimes that certain men have the right to be heard. But one thing gives this right, and that is the value of what they have to say. This may be judged by the soundness of their lives and the breadth of their previous experiences. There can never be perfect freedom for children or for fools. On the same principle, the academic freedom of the college professor is a thing that must be won by merit, not claimed as a privilege.

The right to proclaim truth belongs to him who has shown that he knows truth when he sees her, and that he knows how to find her when he does not see her. It cannot exist in full degree for men without experience in life, for men who live in a visionary world, for men whose ready eloquence takes the place of science. The doctors of philosophy turned out in such numbers from the great hot-houses of university culture are not always prepared for the freedom a grown man must take. Their fitness to speak usually dates from the period in which they make the discovery that they are not yet ready. It is not the fear of the public, of the press, of the rich or of the poor, that should deter a young man from rash speaking. It is the fear that he may not tell the truth, the fear that he may mislead others or bring reproach on himself or his colleagues by undue proclamation of his own crudity. The universities of the world have shown that they fear neither man nor devil, if a struggle for principle is on. But this they do fear, that in the multiplicity of speech and writing for which they are held responsible, the truth shall be lost in the heat of controversy or concealed in meshes of eloquence.

The university must stand for infinite patience and the calm discussion of the ideas and ideals which it must leave to men of action to frame into deeds. The passionate appeal is not part of its function. In order that politics shall not creep into the university, the men of the university must try not to creep into poli-

tics. It is not because the university is afraid of reprisals. The politicians cannot hurt it much. It is because the university fears degeneration within itself if its energies are occupied with temporary ends. There can be no greater foe to academic existence, and therefore to academic freedom than the professor who makes his chair a center of propaganda of personal opinions. Whether these are right or wrong, popular or unpopular, makes little difference. The effect is the same. The appeal is to prejudice and takes the place of investigation. The function of the university in public affairs must always be essentially judicial. This does not mean that the scholar's voice should be silent in times of moral issues. It is now and then the scholar's sworn duty to take the great bull of public opinion by the horns, regardless of results to himself or to the association of scholars he represents. All honor to the scholar who recognizes the moment of great decision and seizes it, sparing neither himself nor others. "Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide." But such moments are not matters of every day, and the small battles of society must be fought by men of action who enroll themselves under banners which flutter for the hour.

II.

THE BUILDING OF A UNIVERSITY.

WITH the end of our Republic's first century we had the first clear vision of the greatest of republican institutions—the American university. It was even then only a vision. It is not yet realized, but we know something of what it is to be. Out of the struggles and the prayers, the hopes and the efforts of good men and good women, we see it taking form. A university as fair as those which England has known for a thousand years, as sound and as strong as the deep-rooted schools of Germany, with something of both, yet different from either, is the coming university of America. There will be many of these institutions, for our land is very wide, and they will differ from each other somewhat in kind, and as one star differeth from another in glory,—still of the same general pattern all must be. They will be schools for training American boys and girls to be American men and women. They will express the loftiest ideals of higher education within our great democracy. One of this great sisterhood of universities our own Stanford must

become; hence it is fitting for us, from time to time, to consider the present, and to forecast the future.

The American college, as it existed thirty years ago and more, and as it still exists in some quarters, is distinctly a school for personal culture. Its strongest agency has been the personal influence of devoted men. It has made no effort to give professional training. It has made no pretense of leading in scientific research. A log with Mark Hopkins at one end of it and himself at the other was Garfield's conception of such a college. Even the log is not essential. The earnest teacher is all in all. Apparatus Mark Hopkins did not need, books he even despised. The medium of a forgotten language and an outworn philosophy served him as well as anything else in impressing on his boys the stamp of his own character. It was said of Dr. Nott of Union College that "He took the sweepings of other colleges and sent them back to society pure gold." Such was his personal influence on young men. A notable example of the college spirit was Arnold of Rugby. Another was Jowett, Master of Baliol. A teacher of this type, in greater or less degree, it was the privilege of every college student to know, and this knowledge still reconciles him to his alma mater, however many her shortcomings in subject or method. But times have changed since the days of Mark Hopkins. The American college — English-born and English in tradition — under the touch of German influences, and in

response to actual needs, is changing to the American university. It is no longer a school of culture alone, a school of personal growth through personal example. It is becoming, in addition to this, a school of research, a school of power. It stands in the advance guard of civilization, responsive not to the truth of tradition alone but to the new truth daily and hourly revealed in the experience of man.

In the movement of events the American university unites in itself three different functions: that of the college, that of the professional school, and that which is distinctive of the university.

The college is now, as ever, a school of culture. It aims to make wise, sane, well-rounded men who know something of the best that men have thought and done in this world, and whose lives will be the better for this knowledge. It has not discarded the Latin, Greek and Mathematics which were so long the chief agents in culture, but it has greatly added to this list. It has found that to some minds, at least, better results arise from the study of other things. Culture is born from mastery. The mind is strengthened by what it can assimilate. It can use only that which relates itself to life. We find that Greek-mindedness is necessary to receive from the Greek all that this noblest of languages is competent to give. We find for the average man better educational substance in English than in Latin, in the Physical or Natural Sciences than in the Calculus. But more important

than this, we find that it is safe in the main to trust the choice of studies to the student himself. The very fact of choice is in itself an education. It is better to choose wrong, sometimes, as we do a hundred times in life, than to be arbitrarily directed to the best selection. Moreover, so far as culture is concerned, the best teacher is more important than the best study. It is still true, as Emerson once wrote to his daughter, that "It matters little what your studies are; it all lies in who your teacher is." A large institution has many students. It has likewise many teachers; and an Arnold or a Hopkins, a Warner, a Thoburn or a Richardson, can come just as close to the students' hearts in a large school as in a small one. But "the knowing of men by name," the care for their personal lives and characters, must be the essential element in the new college course, as it was in the old. And the college function of the university must not be despised or belittled. Because Germany has no colleges, because her students go directly from the high school at home to the professional school or the university, some have urged the abandonment by the American university of this primal function of general culture. In their eagerness to develop the advanced work some institutions have relegated the college function almost solely to tutors without experience, and have left it without standards and without serious purpose. It is not right that even the freshmen should be poorly taught. On the soundness of the college training

everything else must depend. In the long run the greatest university will be the one that devotes the most care to its undergraduates. With the college graduation higher education in England mostly stops. With Germany here the higher education begins. Higher education has been defined as that training which demands that a man should leave home. It means a breaking of the leading strings. It means the entrance to another atmosphere. The high school and the gymnasium cannot have the academic atmosphere, however advanced their studies may be. They must reflect the spirit of the town which supports them, and of which they are necessarily a part. They cannot be free in the sense in which the universities are free. A boy who lives at home in a city, and goes back and forth on a train, cannot be a university student. He may recite in the university classes, but there his relation ends. He gets little of the spirit which moves outside of the classroom. He cannot enter the university until he breathes the university atmosphere. The "Spurstudenten," or "railway students," those who come and go on the trains, are rightly held by their fellows in Germany to be little more than Philistines. Whatever the other excellencies of the German system, the gymnasium, or advanced high school, is an inadequate substitute for the American college.

The second function of the university is that of professional training. To the man once in the path of culture this school adds effectiveness in his chosen

calling. This work the American universities have taken up slowly and grudgingly. The demand for instruction in law and medicine has been met weakly but extensively by private enterprise. The schools thus founded have been dependent on the students' fees, and on the advertising gain their teachers receive through connection with them. Such schools as these stand no comparison with the professional schools of Germany. Their foundation is precarious, they cannot demand high standards, nor look beyond present necessities to the future of professional training. Only a few of our professional schools today demand university standards. Those which do not cannot share the university spirit. They have no part in university development. Only in the degree that they are part and parcel of the university do they in general deserve to live. The first profession to become thus allied is that of engineering, thanks to the wisdom that directed the Morrill Act. Following this, law, medicine, theology, education, have, in some quarters, taken a university basis, and the few professional schools in which such a basis exists rank fairly with the best of their class in the world.

The crowning function of a university is that of original research. On this rests the advance of civilization. From the application of scientific knowledge most of the successes of the nineteenth century have arisen. It is the first era of science. Behind the application of such knowledge rests the acquisition of

it. One Helmholtz, the investigator, is the parent of a thousand Edisons, the adapters of the knowledge gained by others. The great function of the German university is that of instruction through investigation. The student begins his work on a narrow space at the outer rim of knowledge. It is his duty to carry the solid ground a little farther, to drive back, ever so little it may be, the darkness of ignorance and mystery. The real university is a school of research. That we possess the university spirit is our only excuse that we adopt the university name. A true university is not a collection of colleges. It is not a college with an outer fringe of professional schools. It is not a cluster of professional schools. It is the association of scholars. It is the institution from which in every direction blazes the light of original research. Its choicest product is "that fanaticism for veracity," as Huxley calls it, that love for truth, without which man is but the toy of the elements. Its spirit is the desire "to know things as they really are," which is the necessary attribute of "him that overcometh." No institution can be college, professional school and university all in one, and exercise all these functions fully in the four years which form the traditional college course. To attempt it is to fail in one way or another. We do attempt it and we do fail. In the engineering courses of today we try to combine in four years professional training with research and culture. This cannot be done, for while the professional work

is reasonably complete, culture is at a minimum, and research crowded to the wall. The subject of law requires three solid years for professional training alone. Three or four culture years go with this, and are surely none too many. The same requirement must soon be made in engineering. We cannot make an engineer in four years if we do anything else for him, and there are very many things besides engineering which go to the making of a real engineer.

But this we can do in the four years of college culture: We can show the student the line of his professional advancement, and can see him well started in its direction before he has taken his first degree. We can give in the college course something of the methods and results of advanced research. In any subject the advanced work has a higher culture value than elementary work. Thorough study of one subject is more helpful than superficial knowledge of half a dozen. To know one thing well is, in Agassiz's words, "to have the backbone of culture." By limiting the range of individual training to a few things done thoroughly it is possible to give even to the undergraduate some touch of real university method, some knowledge of how truth is won. To accomplish this is one vital part of the university's duty. It welds together the three functions of a university, and in so doing it will give the American university its most characteristic feature.

The best education for any man with brains and character should involve these three elements:

It should have the final goal in view as soon as possible.

It should be broad enough and thorough enough to develop cultured manhood, and at the same time to furnish the strength needed to reach this goal. In other words, it should look to success in the profession and to success as a man. Toward both these ends the methods of finding the truth for one's self are vitally essential. The university should disclose the secret of power, and this secret lies in thoroughness. Science is human experience tested and set in order. The advance of science has come through the use of instruments of precision and methods of precision. Opinion, feeling, tradition, plausibility, illusions of whatever sort, disappear when the method of power is once mastered.

The college course should have a little of the professional spirit for its guidance, a little of the university spirit for its inspiration; the best interests of all three will keep them in the closest relation to each other. At the same time they must not starve each other. At the present time the needs of the college in most cases tend to dwarf the more costly functions of the university. The professors have their hands full of lower work. The books and material the university work demand are far more costly than the college can afford. The trustees still too often regard the graduate

school as an expensive alien, and its demands in most quarters still receive scant attention. To train fifty investigators costs more than to give a thousand men a college education. The sciences cost more than the humanities, and the applied sciences, with their vast and changing array of machinery, are most expensive of all.

Equally unwise, it seems to me, though less common, is the disposition to slight the college course for the sake of advanced research. Poor work, wherever done, leaves its mark of poverty. The great university of the future will be the one which does well whatever it undertakes, be it high or low. Better have few departments, very few, than that any should be weak and paltry. Better a few students well taught than many neglected.

It is fair to judge a university by the character of its advanced work. Institutions cannot be graded by the number in attendance. This is the most frequent and most vulgar gage of relative standing. The rank of an institution is determined no more by the number of its students than by the number of trees on its campus. What sort of men does it have, and what are they doing? These are the living questions Buildings are convenient; beautiful buildings have a great culture value. We should be the last to underrate the effect of the charm of cloisters and towers, of circles of palms and sweet-toned bells. But these do not make a university. Books are useful, they are

vital to research,—but wiser men than we have ever known have grown up without books. Shakspere had few of them, Lincoln but few, Homer and Jesus none at all. Books serve no purpose if they are not used. The man who reads it gives the book its life. Specimens are inevitable in natural history. Apparatus is necessary in physical science. Collections and equipment are really the outgrowth of the men that use them. You cannot order them in advance. Professor Hæckel once said, bitterly, that the results of research in the great laboratories were in inverse proportion to the perfection of their appliances. An investigation may be lost in multiplicity of details, or in elaboration of preparation. Some men will spend years in getting a microscope or a microtome just right, and then never use it. It is said that the entire outfit of Joseph Leidy, one of the greatest of our microscopists, cost just seventy-five dollars. It was the man and not the equipment that made his investigations luminous.

Publication is necessary, but it would be the greatest of mistakes to measure a university by the number of pages printed by its members. Much of the so-called research, even in Germany, is unworthy of the name of science. Its subject matter is not extension of human experience, but the addition to human pedantry. To count the twists and turns of literary eccentricity may have no more intellectual significance than to count the dead leaves in the forest.

Statistical work is justified not by the labor it requires, but by the laws it unveils. Elaboration of method may conceal the dearth of purpose. Moreover, it is easier to string the web of plausibility than to recover the lost clue of truth. Of a thousand doctors' theses each year, scarcely one in a hundred contains a real addition to knowledge. When it does it may be that the hand of the master placed it there. In too many cases a piece of research is simply a bid for notice. American universities are always on the watch for men who can do something as it should be done. Work is often done solely to arrest the attention of the university authorities. A professorship once gained, nothing more is heard of research. The love of novelty with the itch for writing often passes for the power of original research. The fanaticism for veracity has nothing in common with versatile writing or paradoxical cleverness. It took Darwin twenty-five years of the severest work before he could get his own leave to print his own conclusions. Other writers put forth sweeping generalizations as rapidly as their typewriters can take them from dictation. In certain works which have arrested popular attention, the investigations must have gone on at the highest speed attainable by the pen of the gifted author. Such work justifies Fechner's sarcastic phrase, "Cuckoos' eggs laid in the nest of science."

The work of science is addressed to science, no matter if half a dozen generations pass before another

investigator takes up the thread. The science of the newspapers is of quite another type, and so is much of the science of just now famous men from whom newspaper science derives its inspiration.

While the university on its human side is interested in all that touches the life of today, on the scientific side it deals with the eternal verities, and cares nothing for those things which are merely local or timely.

The university must conduct research to ends of power. This it has hardly begun to do in America. Half our graduate students are not ready for anything worthy to be called investigation. They are not real students of a real university. The graduate departments of our universities are now engaged almost exclusively in training teachers. That profession may be the noblest—where noble men make it so, but it is only one of many in which success must rest on original investigation. We are proud of our crop of Doctors of Philosophy, dozens or hundreds turned out every year. But most of them are trained only to teach, and we know that half of them are predestined to failure as college teachers. We must broaden our work and widen our sympathies. We must train men in the higher effectiveness in every walk in life, men of business as well as college instructors, statesmen as well as linguists, and shipbuilders as well as mathematicians, men of action as well as men of thought. This means a great deal more than annual

crops of Doctors of Philosophy to scramble for the few dozen vacant instructorships open year by year. But with all these discouragements original research is the loftiest function of the university. In its consummate excellence is found the motive for its imitation.

There is but one way in which a university can discharge this function. It cannot give prizes for research. It cannot stimulate it by means of publication, still less by hiring men to come to its walls to pursue it. The whole system of fellowships for advanced students is on trial, with most of the evidence against it. The students paid to study are not the ones who do the work. When they are such, they would have done the work unpaid. The fellowship system tends to turn science into almsgiving, to make the promising youth feel that the world owes him a living.

All these plans of university building, and others, have been fairly tried in America. There is but one that succeeds. Those who do original work will train others to do it. Where the teachers are themselves original investigators devoted to truth and skilful in the search for it—men that cannot be frightened, fatigued, or discouraged—they will have students like themselves. To work under such men students like-minded will come from the ends of the earth. It is the part of the investigators to make the university, as the teachers make the college. There never was a genuine university on any other terms. It is not con-

ceivable that there should ever be one. It is not necessary that all departments should be equal to make the university real. It was enough at Harvard to have Agassiz and Gray, Lowell and Longfellow, Goodwin and Holmes, to justify the name of university. Silliman and Dana made a university of Yale. Such men are as rare as they are choice, and no university faculty was ever yet composed of them alone, and none ever yet had too many of them. President Gilman has wisely said:

"In the conduct of a university secure the ablest men as professors, regardless of all other qualifications, excepting those of personal merit and adaptation to the chairs that are to be filled. Borrow if you cannot enlist. Give them freedom. Give them auxiliaries. Give them liberal support. Encourage them to come before the world of science and of letters with their publications. Bright students, soon to be men of distinction, will be their loyal followers, and the world will say Amen.

"The merit of a university depends on the men who are called to conduct it, upon them absolutely if not exclusively; for although the teacher must have such auxiliaries as books and instruments — books are nothing but paper and ink until they are read, and instruments but brass and glass until craft and skill are applied to their handling."

But it is in its men that the real university has its real being. Through the work of such men it stands

in the vanguard of civilization. By such men it counts the milestones in its course, and no trick of organization, no urging of the printing-press, no subsidy of students, can be made to take their place.

A final word as to the practical side of advanced research. Mr. Carnegie once ascribed the foundation of his great fortune to the fact that he first employed trained chemists where other manufacturers chose workmen skilled in making steel by rule of thumb. His chemists were able to suggest improvements. They devised ways of making better steel cheaper still, and at the same time of utilizing the refuse or slag.

In the future the success of each great enterprise must depend on the improvements it makes. The nation successful in manufacture and commerce will be the one richest in labor-aiding devices. All these must depend on the advancement of knowledge. Pure science must precede applied science.

Once the manufacturer or the nation could hire its chemists as it needed them. The few asked for were already made. Now they must make them. The advancement of any branch of science depends on the mastery of what is known before. Everything easy and everything inexpensive has been found out. To train the chemist of the future we need constantly finer instruments of precision for his advanced work, access to greater and greater libraries that he may know what is already done, for each generation of scientific

workers must stand on the shoulders of those gone before, else it can make no progress beyond them. The scholars of today would be helpless were it not that they can save time by drawing freely on the accumulated knowledge of the past.

To learn the elements of any science costs little. It can be learned at one end of a log with a great teacher on the other. It can be even learned without a teacher. But to master a science so as to extend its boundaries — this is quite another thing. More than a man can earn in a lifetime it costs to make a start. For this reason a university which provides means for such work is a very costly establishment. For this reason the investigator of the future must depend on the university. The nation with the best equipped universities will furnish the best-trained men. On the universities progress in manufactures and commerce must depend. Through the superiority of training Germany is passing England in the commercial world, in spite of her handicaps of position and history. Through the excellence of her universities, without most of these handicaps, America is likely to excel both Germany and England.

As men of science are needed, they cannot make themselves. Those with power can help them. This fact has given the impulse to the far-reaching gifts of Stanford, Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Rhodes. These are not gifts, but investments put to the credit of the country's future. The people, too, have power to

give. The same feeling of investment has led them to build their state universities, and to entrust to them not only the work of personal culture, but of advancement in literature, science, and arts. With general culture and professional training must go the advancement of knowledge, the progress of society, through the advancement of the wisdom and the power of man.

III.

AN APOLOGY FOR THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY.

NOW and then in these days some successful business man raises his eyes from his counter to question the American university's right to exist. "Does higher education pay?" he asks, and from his own experience of tireless energy, and from his own contact with thin-legged, white-faced collegians seeking a job, he gives to this question a qualified negative. He further claims, should he care to pursue the subject at greater length, that opportunities for higher education are too widely diffused, and that the American masses are victims of over-education.

If all this is true, it is time to call a halt and take account of stock. We have invested too much in universities—love and devotion, as well as bonds and gold—for us to be indifferent to their usefulness. In any case, it may be worth our while to spend half an hour in considering this question, even though to you and me, who are not in success as a life business, such statements of men of business may seem belated and absurd.

It is certain, in the first place, that to speak of "over-education" is a misuse of terms. If education is rational and effective, there cannot be too much of it. It is not men trained and efficient who enter into destructive competition. It is the ignorant and ineffective who make the struggle for existence so dire a battle. Whatever leaves men weak and ineffective cannot justly be called education. There is nothing more useful than wisdom, nothing more effective than training, nothing more practical than sunshine. Surely no one can claim that the American people are too wise, too skilful, or too enlightened for their own good. Yet to give wisdom, skill, and enlightenment is the main function of higher education. It cannot give brains, courage, and virtue where these qualities were wanting before. It cannot make a man, but it furnishes the best known means to help a man to make himself. The gain through self-building often outweighs in value the original material. It may be more important even than the finished product, as effort is a greater source of strength and happiness to man than final achievement.

What these critics usually mean to attack is misfit education — the training or straining of the memory rather than the acquisition of power to think and act. They mean that the colleges give schooling rather than training. They "teach young people how to talk rather than how to live." This is still true to some extent, in some places, but the whole tendency of

university movement is toward reality and practicality. These critics have not watched this movement. They do not draw their idea of a university from the powerful, well-organized institutions of the day, which lay hold of every various power of humanity and seek to draw it into effective, harmonious action. Rather they picture to themselves the starveling colleges of their youth, where callow boys were driven, against their will, over race-courses of study, no part of which appealed to their own souls or was related in any way to their lives. Such colleges and such ideals of education exist in our time, in certain forgotten corners, but they are in no sense typical of the American university of today. Harvard and Cornell, and the great and growing state universities of the West, are as firmly and thoroughly devoted to the needs of American democracy as the modern harvester is to the needs of the American wheat fields.

No doubt inferior methods, dull, stupid traditions, can be found here and there under the name of higher education, as rusty or worn-out machinery exists under the name of agricultural implements. It is not by these that the best we have should be judged. No one knows better than our college authorities the misfits and failures of education. No one strives half so hard to prevent them, though in all large enterprises no one can avoid a certain percentage of failure.

Not all the critics in business life taken together have done one-tenth as much to make education prac-

tical as has any one of the great university presidents of our time. Let us mention, for example, Eliot and White and Angell and Tappan. Under the hands of these men, and others like these, the whole face of higher education in America has changed in the last twenty years, and the change has been in every way toward greater usefulness and practicality. As the limited express of today compares with the cross-roads accommodation train, so does the American university we all know, or ought to know, compare with the college of twenty years ago. The little curriculum of the college, its Latin verses, mythology, mathematics, and dilute philosophy covered but a small arc in the grand circle. The entire range of the activities of men constitutes the field of the university.

The keynote of railroad progress has been usefulness to the traveling public. The limited express carries well, carries quickly, carries comfortably, accurately, and safely the multitudes of people who demand transportation. Its fresher paint, handsomer cars, and softer cushions are only incidental to this. So with the university of today. It aims to meet the needs of all men, whatever these needs may be, and of all women, too—all to whom higher training or higher outlook is possible. It meets these needs accurately, safely, and without waste of time or effort. Its greater size and greater impressiveness of buildings, libraries, and laboratories are only incidents. Its purpose is direct, practical, and unflinching. Those

who criticise its results must take a broad view of its purposes. Because a Harvard man once drove a street-car in San Francisco, or because some despondent invalid from Yale is seeking a third-class clerkship, is no indictment of Harvard or Yale any more than a chance tramp on a brake-beam is an impeachment of the management of a great railroad.

If the passengers in general rode on the brake-beams in preference to the coaches, it might give rise to an indictment. If the Harvard man of today cannot, as a rule, make use of his knowledge, if he cannot take care of himself and open the door of opportunity to others—if the more of Harvard the less of man—then we may question Harvard's right to her endowments. But, as a matter of fact, this is not true. Among men in every walk of life, among our bridge builders, our preachers, and our mechanics, our teachers, our statesmen, and our naturalists, our bookmen, our physicians, our financiers, our electricians, our lawyers, and our journalists, the university men stand everywhere at the front. They are effective, enlightened, practical. They have had some one thing clearly in view; they have striven to do it, and to do it so well that their work needs no after-patching.

It is true that this has not always been so to the degree that it is today. Once the college education was not related to life. It did not pretend to be. It had nothing to do with action. It was not even the foundation of scholarship. The scholars of the early

days were as much self-taught as the merchants. The school training was discipline only, a drill in memory and discrimination, the things memorized and the things studied to be forgotten when real life began. The original investigator — that is, the real scholar, in any field, in language even — had to begin at the bottom when his college course was finished. He had to find his own materials, devise his own methods, and forge his own implements, just as the self-taught scholar had to do. The man with definite purposes saw his way to his goal outside of college, for the college would not swerve from its mediæval English ideals a hair's breadth to meet the need of the student.

Learning breeds vanity, some one has said; while wisdom is the parent of modesty. The old-time college student had learning. He learned rules by heart, and lists of exceptions. He learned the propositions of Euclid, and could repeat every corollary by number. If he studied science, this too was made a matter of names, definition, and exceptions. The best botanist was the one who knew the most Latin names of plants. The best historian knew the names and dates of most kings and the details of the greatest number of campaigns.

The college education was once valued for the feeling of superiority which it engendered. The bachelor of arts was as good as the best of men and better than most. "Of all horned cattle," said Horace Greeley, "commend me to the college grad-

uate." He meant the kind which is filled with learning, with a fatuous vanity, which sprouted like the calf's horns. If we define an educated man as one who has learned the secret of power in nature or life, he is not classified with horned cattle. He becomes a man, and to send forth such is the work of the university of today.

It is said by some one that the greatest joy on earth with certain women — greater even than the pleasures of hope and even the consolations of religion — is the "well-dressed feeling." We know what this is like and how it affects its possessor, even though we do not share it ourselves. I saw an example the other day on a railway train. A lady, not graceful nor gracious nor beautiful, was dressed to her own perfect satisfaction. I could not describe the details, which had no special charm for me, but the aggregate was the sure feeling of being well dressed. This showed itself in the expression of her face, at once haughty and beatific. The college degree of Bachelor of Arts conferred on our fathers the well-dressed feeling. They were at once haughty and beatific in the possession of it, and to gain the degree, not to enter into the gathered store of intellectual power, was their purpose in running over the prescribed curriculum.

But whatever we may say of outworn methods, they were not without their successes. In these the old college found ample justification. Mental keenness follows mental friction. The spirit of comradery

led to a higher spirit of friendliness and mutual help. The debating society, where alone — outside of school hours — real subjects were under discussion, laid the foundation of many a statesman's prominence on the floor of the senate.

To spend four formative years in life not sordid has a moral reflex on the character. The weakest and most illogical college course may be far better than no college training at all. Men can make up for lost time. It is harder to make up for lost inspiration. The American college of the past was a feeble copy of the colleges of England. The American university of today draws its inspiration from the deeper, stronger currents of German scholarship.

An Oxford man has recently criticised the splendid aggregation of great boarding-schools, which modern needs are slowly and reluctantly molding into Oxford University. "Our men," he says, "are not scholars; our scholars not men." The old ideals of education still cherished at Oxford too often lead to this. Those called scholars — the dig, the grind, the pedant — are not men. Their worth is not related to life, and they are not trained for living. The other class — the athletes, the good fellows, the robust British gentlemen — these are not scholars. For the lines of thought and action which interest the live man are not yet reckoned as scholarship in England.

To know nature, life, art, one must go outside the tripos or three sacred pedestals of learning — Latin,

Greek, mathematics—recognized by the conventional college. To the university of Germany we go, or to the university of America, and in these institutions of reality every man in search of wisdom or power will find his efforts strengthened, his success hastened. The ideal of the American university of today is expressed in the words *constructive individuality*. It would build up scholarship and character, but always on the basis of the powers which nature gave the individual. It is no abstract or ideal man with which it deals, but real men, just as they are, the individuals as created—no two alike, each with his own divine gift of personality, which separates the man that is from all the men that are, or were, or ever will be.

I have used the words "college" and "university" in an interchangeable sense. This I have done on purpose, for I do not believe that the distinction, which seems to exist, and on which some writers have laid great emphasis, is one which can or ought to be permanent. From the extension of the college the American university has sprung, but every one of these institutions still includes, and must include, the college, which is the germ. Every successful college points toward the university, and, so far as is possible, it strives to become such. The university is the expression of thoroughness of training, and without thoroughness in something no institution can live.

It is said that the college is for the average man, the university for the exceptional one. But this is not

true, as a matter of fact. The average man, the exceptional man, and the man below the average are found in all institutions. The "*bemoostes Haupt*," the moss-grown head, grown gray in the struggle for a degree, is well known in the universities of Germany, while the smallest college of the prairies has been the cherishing mother of many a distinguished scholar.

The fact is that the college is a temporary feature of American educational history. The college is a small university, antiquated, belated, arrested, starved, as the case may be, but with university aspirations to be realized in such degree as it can. The strongest of these find an assured place by the side of the universities—Brown University and Amherst College, Wesleyan University and Williams College, Colgate University and Bryn Mawr College. These belong to a single general class, and differ only in name. Each gives the best and broadest undergraduate courses its finances afford, with as extended a course in graduate study as circumstances make possible. Harvard is the same in kind, though its extension is greater, while the ambition of the college of the prairies is not less nor different.

As time goes on, the college will disappear in fact, if not in name. The best and richest colleges will become universities, following the example of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. The others will return to their places as academies, fitting men for college, as

they now try to fit them for the university. Every year shows both these forms of transition. In the last ten years at least a half dozen of the California colleges have joined the ranks of the high schools, ceasing to grant academic degrees. In other western and southern States the same change has taken place. On the other hand, twenty institutions, which have prided themselves on their contentment as "mere colleges," have reached out, in one way or another, into graduate work, and many rest their best fame on the influence of some teacher whose originality and thoroughness gave his work the true university character.

Since Eliot became president of Harvard University, the number of college students in the United States has increased perhaps a hundred-fold. This is due to no educational fad, no passing whim of the hour. Young men and young women do not rush by thousands to the universities every fall because they seek social recognition, because their fathers went to college, because they need a college degree in their business, because of the glory of the football team, nor for any one of a hundred side reasons which might be conjured up. They go to the university because the university offers training which they want, and which they cannot do without, except at a cost which will narrow and cramp their whole after lives.

The student of today is far more advanced in thought and action than the student of thirty years ago. The graduate of Harvard under any of Eliot's

predecessors could barely enter the freshman class in the Harvard of today. Not that he had not studied enough things or spent time enough on them, but because the work of earlier times lacked thoroughness, breadth, and vitality. In one or two narrow lines some great teacher might make his work thorough and real, but that a student should actually know anything so as to be able to make a place in life by means of such knowledge, was to most of Eliot's predecessors a new and dangerous notion.

This condition of things was changed, not by outside criticism, the chance slurs of men of business or men of leisure, but by inside growth.

It was thirty years ago that Agassiz told his associates that Harvard was no university — "only a respectable high school where they taught the dregs of learning." He recognized that for most men the sacred tripos was not the foundation of culture, but the dregs of culture. Its place of importance was assigned, not by hope, but by tradition. It was the same good old Harvard which Emerson blamed for never having led him to the tree of life. But even Emerson was appalled when the study of realities invaded Harvard College, and men began to give themselves not to ideal and tradition, but to serious preparation for the work of life. Once he hinted that "a check-rein should be placed on the enthusiastic young professor who was responsible" for the destruction of Harvard's time-honored symmetry.

In Agassiz's answer we touch the keynote of university progress — not to check the current of effort for symmetry's sake, but to stimulate all possible forms of intellectual growth. "If symmetry is to be obtained by cutting down the most vigorous growth," he said, "it would be better to have a little irregularity here and there."

It is thirty years since Herbert Spencer startled the English educational world by his question: "What knowledge is most worth?" For the men of Oxford and Cambridge did not value knowledge for its worth, but rather for its traditional respectability. They defined a university as "a place where nothing useful is taught," and they had only contempt for "bread-and-butter learning," or knowledge related to daily life. This might do for the learned professions — law, medicine, and theology — but even for these the college gave no hint of direct preparation. Herbert Spencer answered his own question in favor of science, the facts and laws of human life and of external nature. These have a real worth to man, which the sacred tripos did not possess. On the belief that knowledge of all kinds has real worth to some one the modern university rests.

At Champaign, ten years ago, I had occasion to say: "The university should be the great refuge hut on the ultimate boundaries of knowledge from which daily and weekly adventurous bands set forth on voyages of discovery. It should be the Uper-

navik from which polar travelers draw their supplies. As the shoreless sea of the unknown meets us on every side, the same house of refuge and supply will serve for a thousand different exploring parties moving out in every direction into the infinite ocean. After countless ages of education and scientific progress, the true university will stand on the verge, its walls still washed by the same unending sea, the boundless ocean of possible human knowledge."

The college of the past dealt chiefly with record and tradition. It sought no new truth and coveted no action. The college life was a period of restful growth, to be cherished for its fragrant memories. It was not a time of forceful struggle for heightened power and deeper wisdom.

The university of today is alert to all the problems of social and political development. The poorhouse, the jail, the caucus, the legislature, the army, the discordant demands of freedom and order,—all these call for closest attention of the university student. While one man studies the law of heredity as shown in the structure of the body cells, another gives equal attention to the fate of the tramp and the pauper. One spends his strength on the economical transference of electric force while another works on the conservation of honesty in the public service. There are just as many classical scholars today as there ever were, but they no longer bar the way to men of other

powers and other tastes. The classics no longer close the door to other forms of culture. He who writes Latin verses still finds his place in the university, provided only that his verses are good enough to be worth writing. But he no longer occupies the sole place of honor, or even the front seat in the lecture hall. The man who knows the steam engine has an equal place in the university and an equal share in the honors of scholarship. With the advent of realities, spurious honors disappear. It is not for the university to decide on the relative values of knowledge. Each man makes his own market, controlled by his own standards. It is for the university to see that all standards are honest, that all work is genuine. To do this, it must cast off many of its own shams of the past. Its titles and privileges, its prizes and honors, its distinctions and degrees, its caps and gowns, and chaplets of laurel berries — all the playthings and millinery of its youth it must cast away with its full maturity. These prizes of learning are but baby toys to the man of power. To send forth men of power the university exists.

The value of the university has been under discussion ever since the days of Alfred and Charlemagne, and each nation in each century has formed its own answer. Its value to a monarchy is not the same as its worth to a republic. Its value to the all-embracing church is not the same as its use to the individual man and woman. The church looks to the university for

its defender and its apologist; the individual man for his own enlightenment and strength. The king looks to the university for agents and advisers, to democracy for the antidote to the demagogue and spoilsman. Emperor William is reported to have said: "Bismarck and von Moltke were but the tools by which my august grandfather worked his will." To furnish the emperor with tools of such edge and temper is the function of the imperial university. Tools of a still more august ruler are the statesmen of America. Our Washingtons and Lincolns, our Sumners and Hoars, our Lowells and Emersons — all these are the tools by which the people of the Republic work their will.

To such needs the modern university is fully alive. Edward Everett Hale tells us that in 1860, when Robert Todd Lincoln entered Harvard College, bringing letters of introduction from Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglass, there was but one man in Harvard who had ever heard of Lincoln. This was Professor James Russell Lowell, who said at the time: "I suppose that I am the only man in this room who has ever heard of this Abraham Lincoln, but he is the person with whom Douglass has been traveling up and down in Illinois, canvassing the state in their new western fashion as representatives of the two parties, each of them being the candidate for the vacant seat in the senate."

That Harvard was not long indifferent to what

Abraham Lincoln stood for is shown by the roll of names in her Memorial Hall; the list of

> those whose faith and truth
> On war's true touchstone rang true metal.

Once awakened to her public duty, our great university has never since slept. Her hand is in all public affairs. Whatever is well done is permeated by her wisdom and zeal, and the courage and force of her sister institutions.

One can count on his fingers today, taking every one, university men without public office or likelihood of any, investigators and professors, who exert a greater influence in any political crisis than presidents and cabinets, than orators and agitators, than admirals and generals. The immediate responsibility for action rests with the temporary official, but behind the investigator is the power of eternal truth. Whatever men do or say or pretend, it is the truth that has the last word. This is so sure in the affairs of men that when truth appears plain before them they throw up their idle weapons and call her God or fate. And these, indeed, are other names for truth. For the worship of truth the university must stand, and there is but one formula for her ritual. He shall seek her patiently, untiringly. If perchance he find her, then shall he proclaim her without fear and without reserve.

The American university serves the American republic in several ways.

It intensifies individual force and effort. It takes a man's best abilities and raises them to the second or third or tenth power, as we say in algebra. The value of the college-bred engineer is recognized in the railroads, in the mines, in the factories. With the same willingness to work as the man who has learned engineering by rule of thumb, he has a far greater adaptability, a far wider command of resources. This fact may not appear in a day or a year; hence some men prefer the ordinary practical man, because he is less ambitious and can be had cheap. Sooner or later, however, a condition arises which shows the difference. The wise employer forecasts this and puts the responsibility on the man who is surest to carry it when the real trial comes.

What is true of the educated engineer is equally true in other trades or professions. The ignorant physician makes money because he deals with ignorant men, and the grave covers his blunders. But sooner or later truth turns her searchlight on pretense, and the educated physician and the fraudulent healer are no longer in competition.

The university of today has no new mission in these regards. Its purpose has simply broadened year by year till it covers the needs of every man with brains and conscience. Not only for the Greek-minded and Roman-minded men, but for the men of dynamos and sewer trenches, the breeders of sheep and the importers of silks; for the singer of songs and

the writer of histories; for all men, of whatever calling, the university has its word of welcome, its touch of power.

The university should give to each man or woman a broader outlook on the world, the horizon of the scholar. No one has the right to the name of scholar till he knows some one thing thoroughly, and enough of other things to place this special knowledge in right perspective. The more deeply one enters into his own thoughts, the more effective he is in accomplishing his own ends. The more broadly he enters into the thoughts of others, the more clearly will he understand his own relation to nature and society.

Through the medium of the university the student is brought face to face with great thoughts and great problems. The wise men of all ages and all climes become his brothers, and the consolations of philosophy to him are not meaningless words, but living and helpful realities.

The university is a source of personal acquaintance with the men and women who shall mold the times to come. The university "gathers every ray of varied genius to its hospitable halls, by their concentrated fires to strike the heart of youth in flame." Each university has some great teacher, at least some one who is relatively great. A great teacher leaves a great mark on every student whose life he touches. In my own education nothing meant so much to me as the contact with a few great men whom I knew face

to face. Of these I place first Agassiz, with his abounding life, his fearless trust in God and man, and his vital interest in everything that God or man had done. "There is no hope for you," says Thoreau, "unless this bit of sod under your feet is the best for you in this world, in any world." Of such robust optimism was the spirit of Agassiz. No obstacle could break his courage, no failure could dim his faith. To feel the influence and to share the help of such men far outweighs the cost of any college course, even though the college gave nothing else.

But there were many more among my teachers, each great in his degree. I cannot take the time to speak of each in turn, nor would it profit you to listen. Two names may suffice: Andrew Dickson White, the former high-minded and enlightened president of Cornell, the ideal of our class, the pioneer class of his administration in the new university of his hands. To us he embodied all that a scholar should be in the life of the Republic. And such an ideal of the scholar in statesmanship President White remains to us today.

The other name is that of James Russell Lowell. I can hardly claim him as my teacher, for he did not know me by name or face. I was too young and too raw in his day to be knowable. Yet his rich voice and manly figure are indelibly fixed in my memory, and his noble face rises before me whenever I try to think of the duty of the scholar in the crises of the day.

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide," and to have known Lowell brings a pledge for at least a conscientious decision.

But it is not alone through the teachers that the university educates. The "fellow feeling among free spirits," which has been called the essence of the German university, arises among the students as well. Among the college students are the best young men and women of our time. They shape each other's characters and mold each other's work. If the university does nothing else, it finds its justification in the friendships which it gives. In Agassiz's eulogy on his friend and helper, Humboldt, he gives a most striking account of the influence picked men exert upon each other. Teachers and students alike in the University of Munich used to gather in Agassiz's own chamber, "museum, laboratory, library, bedroom, dining-room, fencing-room, all in one." Students and professors called it "the little academy."

Here they worked and talked and thought, and the discovery of one became the property of all, with the same cheerful generosity by which they shared their meals and their earnings. In the college you find the men you trust in after life, and one who does not fail you there will never after give you cause for regret.

To the university we must look for the promotion of true democracy. Its function as a part of public education is to break up the masses that they may be

masses no more, but living men and women; to draw forth from the multitude the man. The mass is the real foe of democracy, for the slave in all ages has woven his own lash. Where men are driven or sold like sheep, there the tyrant rules. It matters not whether the tyrant be a king in velvet and satin, or a ward boss in a slouch-hat and striped waistcoat; when individual intelligence does not rule, men are governed by brute force.

The function of democracy, as I have said many times, is not good government. Its effect is to stimulate the people to broader outlook, to deeper interest in public affairs. It is not to make good government, but to make good citizens, that public affairs are confided to the common man. The feeling of caste is fatal to democracy. The fundamental tenet of civil freedom is equality before the law. In other relations it matters not what inequality develops; the more unlikeness among men the better, because the more varied the power and talents. But unlikeness is not inequality. As "God is no respecter of persons," so the law must not be. The state must show no favoritism. It knows no black nor white, no wise nor simple, no bond nor free. If it place one class above another, it is a democracy no longer, and it is not a democracy when any class of men tamely accept an inferior place as theirs by right of birth.

The old education seemed to accentuate the inequalities among men. This was because it took its tra-

ditions from aristocratic England, though its real effect was to promote democracy. The great service of the state university, the cap-sheaf of the public school system, is that it carries the university into democracy without impairing the essential qualities of either. It furnishes a plain way for every student, the highest as well as the lowest, from the commonest schooling to the training that gives the highest power. So long as the grass does not grow in "the path from the farm-house to the university," to borrow Ian MacLaren's phrase, so long is the Republic safe. So long as the people can become enlightened and wise, rich and poor alike, so long shall government of the people, by the people, and for the people endure upon the earth.

The need of democracy makes a special demand upon the scholar. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and to the scholar on his watch-tower the people look for this vigilance. It is the scholar's duty everywhere, in season and out of season, to uphold the sacredness of truth. He must possess, to quote Huxley's words, "some knowledge, to the certainty of which authority could add or take away neither one jot nor tittle, and to which the tradition of a thousand years is but as the hearsay of yesterday." The truth it is the scholar's privilege to speak, his duty to proclaim, and that he does this is the best justification of the university from which he drew his inspiration.

"Above all sects is truth." Above all parties and

conventions, above all pride and prejudice and passion, arise the teachings of nature, the lessons of human experience. To hear these teachings, to learn these lessons, is the function of the university. To proclaim them wisely is the function of the scholar, and it is his mission to help permeate the Republic with his scholarship. The university must place as fixed beacons in the swaying tides of democracy those men and women who can never be moved by feeble currents, who know what to do, who have the will to do it and the courage to abide the consequences.

And now, in a final word, I touch the university's highest value. There is no good in a man's work unless the man himself be good. The highest force of the university lies in its moral training. Not in its precepts and in its sermons, not by ceremonies and formulæ, are men influenced for good. If they were, moral culture would be the easiest of all teaching. Nothing costs less than words. But the experience of the ages shows that words count for little in matters like this. It is the contagion of high thought, of noble purpose, of lofty deed that "strikes the heart of youth in flame." "Science," says William Lowe Bryan, "knows no source of life but life. If virtue and integrity are to be propagated, it must be by people who possess them. If this child world about us that we know and love is to grow up into righteous manhood and womanhood, it must see how righteousness looks when it is lived. That this may be so,

what task have we but to garrison our state with men and women? If we can do that, if we can have in every square mile of our country a man or woman whose total influence is a civilizing power, we shall get from our educational system all that it can give or all that we can desire."

Wisdom, as I have said elsewhere, is knowing what to do next. Virtue is doing it, and religion is the heart-impulse that finds reason for wisdom and virtue in harmony with the first cause at the heart of things. To these matters the university can never be indifferent. Wisdom, virtue and religion alike it is its province to cultivate and intensify. It can accept no shams in wisdom, still less in virtue or in religion; but a life without these is the greatest sham of all. The university cannot promote virtue and piety in any machine fashion. If the college stand *in loco parentis*, with rod in hand and spy-glasses on its nose, it will not do much for moral training. It will not make young men moral nor religious by enforced attendance at church or at prayer-meeting. It will not awaken the spiritual element in their natures by any system of demerit marks. This the college of our fathers in English fashion tried to do, and with such ill success that the university of today bears among the ignorant the reproach of godlessness.

What the university can do is along manly lines. It can cure the boy of petty vices and childish trickery by making him a man, by giving

him higher ideals, more serious views of life. It may win by inspiration, not by fear. It must strengthen the student in his search for truth. It must encourage manliness in him through the putting away of childish things. Let the thoughts of the student be as free as air. Let him prove all things, and he will hold fast to that which is good. Give him a message to speak to others, and when he leaves the university you need not fear for him, not the world, nor the flesh, nor the devil.

The universities of America have grown enormously in wealth and power within the last twenty-five years. The next twenty-five years will tell the same story. They have the confidence of the people because they deserve its confidence, and the good citizens of the Republic must give them trust and support. In the university, at last, the history of democracy must be written.

IV.

RELATIVE VALUES IN KNOWLEDGE.

IT IS now forty years since Herbert Spencer startled the educational world with this momentous question, "What knowledge is of most worth?" And the schoolmen of that day in England and America were thrown into dismay by the question and its implication. For to many of them the idea had never occurred that any knowledge had any worth whatever. The value of higher education in their eyes was mainly that of class distinction. It marked out its possessor as one above the common mass. It was the badge of having done "the proper thing." It conferred for life upon the men who received it the same satisfaction which is ascribed to the "well-dressed feeling" among women. To demonstrate its excellence required no analysis of its component parts. For it was prescribed by the highest authority known to the average Englishman, the authority which has granted him the blessings of royalty, of nobility, of ecclesiasticism — the authority of tradition. And over higher education in England forty years ago tradition exercised undisputed sway. The

badges of higher education were then of two sorts—the pass badge, which conveyed social prestige only, and the honor badge, which guaranteed intellectual precedence, as none could bear it save after the severest competitive struggles. Whether these struggles were in themselves worthy, whether the senior wrangler had fought for anything of value to himself or to any one else, few people gave themselves the trouble to inquire. The honor of wrangling was its own reward.

But these few who did inquire led the intellectual progress of the nation, and to their thoughts and questionings the epoch-making essay of Herbert Spencer gave voice. "What knowledge is of most worth?" That knowledge may have intrinsic value, Mr. Spencer insists. If this be true, the value of some knowledge is greater than that of some other. Furthermore, as life is short, and force is limited, the useful knowledge should take precedence over the less useful, the real over the conventional, the effective over the ornamental.

It is clear that the knowledge is of most worth which can be most directly wrought into the fabric of our lives. That discipline is most valuable which will best serve us in "quietly unfolding our own individualities."

Thus far no standard had been agreed upon in these regards, nor did those who had the affairs of higher education in charge recognize even the possible existence of such a standard. To substitute a

rational curriculum for a traditional one, it is necessary, Mr. Spencer maintained, to consider all these matters soberly. "We must settle which things it concerns us most to know; or to use a word of Bacon's, now unfortunately obsolete,—we must determine the relative value of knowledges."

There are some forms of learning which can lead to no generalizations, and can have no bearings, direct or indirect, on the affairs of life. The study of old coins is given by Spencer as an illustration of this. Perhaps better examples could be drawn from our ordinary courses of study.

Other forms of learning directly influence life. It is the tendency of all knowledge to pass over into action, for a thought is not completed until it is wrought into deed. Therefore, that education which leads men to better deeds is a gain to the individual and to the community. It is well for the individual and the community to give heed to this matter. We should not merely think that a form of education is good, trusting to tradition or to chance opinion. We should know what it really signifies, and we should not pass by the problem because its solution is not easy. No social function or act is so important as education. In the schools of today the history, personal, social and political, of the future is in large part written. Therefore, no good thing is so desirable as good schools, no reform so far-reaching as reform in education.

Mr. Spencer proceeds to "classify in the order of their importance the leading kinds of activity which constitute human life. These may be naturally arranged into: 1. Those activities which directly minister to self-preservation. 2. Those activities which, by securing the necessities of life, *indirectly* minister to self-preservation. 3. Those activities which have for their end the rearing and discipline of offspring. 4. Those activities which are involved in the maintenance of proper social and political relations. 5. Those miscellaneous activities which make up the leisure part of life devoted to the gratification of the tastes and feelings."

These categories of effort are thus arranged, Mr. Spencer claims, in something like their true order of subordination. It is evident that without personal sanity and safety, there can be no care for others. It is clear that the development of the family precedes that of the state, and that the performance of personal duties in general has first claim over the enjoyment of art and the cultivation of the pleasures of leisure. It is again evident that "acquirement of any kind has two values — value as knowledge and value as discipline," and both these values must be considered in estimating their final influence on conduct.

In the matter of self-preservation, the common animal instincts are sufficient to warn us against the grosser dangers. But the less evident evils are not

the less real, and against many of these natural instinct offers no protection. This is especially true of the dangers which arise from the complexities of social life, into which our gregarious impulses tend to drag us, for with most men the instinct to follow the mass is more powerful than the animal instincts of warning. The evils of bad food, bad air, of the use of stimulants and narcotics, of dissipation and vice, are matters which an educated will ought to help us to avoid. On all sides we find chronic ailment or physical weakness which wisdom should have prevented. Hence our education should strive to give wisdom. Weariness, gloom, waste, ill health, due to avoidable causes, are met everywhere about us, yet against these our system of education provides no adequate safeguard.

"Is it not clear," says Mr. Spencer, "that the physical sins, partly our forefathers' and partly our own, which produce this ill health deduct more from complete living than anything else?" Besides the deterioration of life, we have the shortening of existence. "If we call to mind how far the average duration of life falls below the possible duration, we see how immense is the loss. When to the numerous partial deductions which bad health entails, we add this great final deduction, it results that ordinarily more than one-half of life is thrown away."

From this Mr. Spencer concludes "that, as vigorous health and its accompanying high spirits are larger elements of happiness than any other things

whatsoever, the teaching how to maintain them is a teaching that should yield in moment to no other whatever."

In this connection we may note that it is not merely the rules of hygiene which are needed. It is such a knowledge of the laws of bodily life as will enable the student to develop his own rules of health. Hygiene is applied physiology, but the physiology must come first else it cannot be intelligently applied. The educated man should be placed in position to realize that a science of physiology exists and that whatever is done to the body has its certain inevitable effect. We would not have "every man his own physician," but we would give every man such a basis of scientific knowledge and method that he could regulate his own life safely and such that in critical cases he could recognize the presence of scientific knowledge in others. He should have the training which would enable him to tell a physician from a quack.

Most people, even those called educated, fail to realize that there is such a thing as science or that their own ignorance of law is not so good as some other man's wisdom. A little real knowledge of their own is needed to give respect for real knowledge. Because of the fundamental value to the individual, hygiene, with the laws and facts of physiology and biology, should have a leading part in any well-ordered scheme of education.

Under the second head come the details of profes-

sional training and of preparation for the special work of life. Here again science plays a vastly greater part than the special activities which at the time of Mr. Spencer's essay monopolized higher education in England and America. The sacred Tripos of Latin, Greek and mathematics touched few matters vital to the student's after-life. All practical success in almost any of the specialized lines of effort must stand on a foundation of science. Physics, chemistry, biology, mechanics, rest at the base of all the great industries. Yet the universities made scanty provision for these subjects, and those who sought them were forced to devote most of their time to artificial or irrelevant studies which they did not want. All this involved a great waste, and the waste was twofold. Science grew up outside of the university and lacked what the university alone could give. The practical men of science were self-taught and therefore imperfectly taught. They missed the university culture, its breadth and severity of discipline, and they were likely to miss at the same time the essence of science, the method of patient investigation. The habit of snap judgment and the method of the rule of thumb condemned most of them to mediocrity. Here and there some struggling genius, some Faraday or Huxley, was able to rise to the height of the university-trained men of science of Germany. But these cases were exceptional. Men of science in general were deprived of the university training they needed, because the uni-

versity was given to play rather than to work, to conventionalities rather than to realities.

On the other hand, the man trained in the university came into professional or scientific studies too late for the best results. To acquire skill with the microscope or scalpel, one must get at it betimes. It is too late to wait till he has mastered the classics of Greece and Rome. So with skill in chemical experiment and physical manipulation. The student must have hand and eye and brain alert before the formative period of youth is over. He must keep in touch with his future career throughout his university course if this course is to be a real help in life.

It is surely a mistake to have any great break in the continuity of education. The sooner one knows what he is good for and strikes out for it the better, though he rarely regrets the length or the fulness of his preparation after his career is once decided. The chosen career gives a clue through the labyrinth of knowledge. It does not matter how long the way if all the while he has a clue to follow. The ability to see one's way to realities through a multitude of non-essentials is the basis of personal success.

The first relation of the child to external things is expressed in this: What can I do with it? What is its relation to me? The sensation goes over into thought, the thought into action. Thus the impression of the object is built into the little universe of the mind. The object and the action it implies are closely

associated. As more objects are apprehended, more complex relations arise, but the primal condition remains, What can I do with it? Sensation, thought, action—this is the natural sequence of each completed mental process. As volition passes over into action, so does science into art, knowledge into power, wisdom into virtue.

By the study of realities wisdom is built up. In the relations of objects he can touch and move, the child comes to find the limitations of his powers, the laws which govern phenomena, and to which his actions must be in obedience. So long as he deals with realities, these laws stand in their proper relation. "So simple, so natural, so true," says Agassiz. "This is the charm of dealing with nature herself. She brings us back to absolute truth so often as we wander."

So long as a child is led from one reality to another, never lost in words or in abstractions, so long this natural relation remains. What is it to me? is the basis of personal virtue. What can I do with it? is the beginning of wisdom.

It is the function of science to find out the real nature of the universe. Its purpose is to eliminate the personal equation and the human equation in statements of truth. By methods of precision in thought and instruments of precision in observation, it seeks to make our knowledge of the small, the distant, the invisible, the mysterious, as accurate as our

knowledge of the common things men have handled for ages. It seeks to make our knowledge of common things exact and precise, that exactness and precision may be translated into action. The ultimate end of science, as well as its initial impulse, is the regulation of human conduct. To make right action possible and prevalent is the function of science. The "world as it is" is its province. In proportion as our actions conform to the conditions of the world as it is, do we find the world beautiful, glorious, divine. The truth of the world as it is must be the ultimate inspiration of art, poetry and religion. The world as men have agreed to say it is, is quite another matter. The less our children hear of this, the less they will have to unlearn in their future development.

When a child is taken from nature to the schools, he is usually brought into an atmosphere of conventionality. Here he is not to do, but to imitate; not to see, nor to handle, nor to create, but to remember. He is, moreover, to remember not his own realities, but the written or spoken ideas of others. He is dragged through a wilderness of grammar, with thickets of diacritical marks, into the desert of metaphysics. He is taught to do right, not because right action is in the nature of things, the nature of himself and the things about him, but because he will be punished somehow if he does not.

He is given a medley of words without ideas. He is taught declensions and conjugations without number

in his own and other tongues. He learns things easily by rote; so his teachers fill him with rote-learning. Hence, grammar and language have become stereotyped as teaching, without a thought as to whether undigested words may or may not be intellectual poison. And as the good heart depends upon the good brain, undigested ideas become moral poison as well. No one can tell how much of the bad morals and worse manners of the conventional college boy of the past has been due to intellectual dyspepsia from undigested words. "Sciences can be learned by rote, but wisdom not." This is an old adage, going back to Tristram Shandy. By rote one can learn sciences but not science.

In such manner the child is bound to lose his orientation as to the forces which surround him. If he does not recover it, he will spend his life in a world of mixed fancies and realities. Nonsense will seem half truth, and his appreciation of truth will be vitiated by lack of clearness of definition — by its close relation to nonsense. That this is no slight defect, can be shown in every community. There is no intellectual craze so absurd as not to have a following among educated men and women. There is no scheme for the renovation of the social order so silly that educated men will not invest their money in it. There is no medical fraud so shameless that educated men will not give it their certificate. There is no nonsense so unscientific that men called educated will not accept it as science.

It should be a function of the schools to build up common sense. Folly should be crowded out of the schools. We have furnished costly lunatic asylums for its accommodation. That our schools are in a degree responsible for current follies, there can be no doubt. We have many teachers who have never seen a truth in their lives. There are many who have never felt the impact of an idea. There are many who have lost their own orientation in their youth, and who have never since been able to point out the sunrise to others. It is no extravagance of language to say that diacritical marks lead to the cocaine habit; nor that the ethics of metaphysics points the way to the higher foolishness. There are many links in the chain of decadence, but its finger-posts all point downward.

For the group of activities relating to the family, the education of forty years ago made no sort of preparation. Mr. Spencer imagines some antiquary puzzling over a pile of our school-books and college examination questions and trying to derive from them the theory of education on which they were based. "This must have been the curriculum for their celibates," we may fancy him concluding. "I perceive here an elaborate preparation for many things: especially for reading the books of extinct nations and of coexisting nations (from which indeed it seems clear that these people had very little worth reading in their own tongue); but I find no reference whatever to the bringing up of children. They could not have

been so absurd as to omit all training for this gravest of responsibilities. Evidently, then, this was the school course of one of their monastic orders."

As a result of this lack of knowledge, we have thousands of needless deaths in childhood, other thousands of those who survive feeble and who might have been strong — events commonly regarded as misfortunes, "as a visitation of providence." "Thinking after the prevalent chaotic fashion, they assume that these evils come without causes: or that the causes are supernatural." Of a piece with the ignorance of the basis of physical well-being in the family, is the carelessness of its intellectual and moral well-being. The unadapted education of the father, the frivolous training of the mother, show their natural result in neglected or wrongly educated children. The school is an adjunct to the home, a continuation of the environment of care which the parents bestow on the children. If the home knows no wisdom in its relation to the child, the school, which is an outgrowth from parental interest, will not do any better. And in the education of forty years ago, Mr. Spencer found no fitness for the development of wise parenthood. There existed no reason why the senior wrangler of Oxford should be wiser as a father, or the prize pupil of the finishing school happier as a mother, than the most illiterate peasant of the English fields.

Equally inadequate was the training for citizenship. Economics as a science had no place in the curriculum.

Questions of justice, administration or jurisprudence received little attention in the universities, while in the study of history the realities were neglected, and the mind was filled with useless names, dates, details of wanton battles and the gossip of the idle. "Familiarity with court intrigues, plots, usurpations, or the like, and with all the personalities accompanying them, aids very little in elucidating the principles on which national welfare depends." The great mass of so-called historical facts could in no way influence our actions in life, could not help us in learning how to live completely. Such are "facts from which no conclusions could be drawn, unorganizable facts, and therefore facts which can be of no use in establishing principles of conduct, which is the chief use of facts." "What in history it really concerns us to know is the natural history of society," and for this no provision was then made in the schools of England, nor were the professors of that day acquainted with its precepts or in sympathy with its teachings.

In political and social relations the university should be the center of progress. From its researches should come gain to the individual man, the growth of rational democracy. The universities of England have been, on the other hand, the centers of reaction. They were forty years ago wholly given over to mediævalism. The spirit of caste found in them its strongest advocates, and their influence was always on the side of larger power for those who

constituted the privileged classes. When this is true, the university is not doing its part to make good citizens of its students. Nor could it do so where the story of the privileged classes constitutes the only history with which it tries to deal.

In the fifth division of human activities, esthetic culture and the charms of leisure hours, Mr. Spencer finds the current system of education scarcely less defective. These matters constitute the flower of education. The florist cultivates the plant for the sake of the flower, but he knows that without care of the roots and leaves the production of the flower is impossible. Just as roots and stem and leaves precede the flower and are necessary to it, a flower being a branch transformed in the interests of beauty, so must the production of healthy civilized life precede esthetic culture.

But the current education aims directly at the flower. It neglects the plant for the sake of it. "In anxiety for elegance it forgets substance." "Accomplishments, the fine arts, belles-lettres and all those things which are the efflorescence of civilization should be wholly subordinate to that knowledge and discipline on which civilization rests." Moreover, "the highest art of every kind is based on science,—without science there can be neither perfect production nor full appreciation." "Innate faculty alone will not suffice, but must have the aid of organized training. Intuition will do much but it will not do all.

Only when genius is married to science can the highest results be produced."

Thus Mr. Spencer comes to the final answer to his question: "What knowledge is of most worth?" And to this question as a whole and to all parts of it he finds one answer: "Science."

Science is organized knowledge. It should take precedence on the one hand over knowledge that is disorganized, and on the other over classified information of whatever sort which is merely conventional, not resting on the eternal verities, nor pointing the way to wiser conduct of life.

After this rapid survey of Mr. Spencer's position, we may raise two inquiries. What change of perspective must we make as a result of forty years of activity in education? Do the keen criticisms of forty years ago hold against the work of the American university of today?

As to the first matter, the point of view seems changed in one respect. Throughout his essay Mr. Spencer seems to aim at building the ideal curriculum, the course of study best suited to the development and happiness of the average cultivated man. The fact that there are other types of men than the average, he seems in some measure to overlook. There are some men, for example, who are born to minister to the esthetic feelings of others and to these alone. There are some men, "Greek-minded and Roman-minded men," as Emerson called them, who

will find no surer road to culture and effectiveness than the one trodden in Oxford and Cambridge half a century ago. The studies that "open, invigorate and enrich the mind," to borrow a phrase of Macaulay, can never be obsolete with those whom they thus affect. The thoroughness and continuity of these courses at their best gives something of the exactness of knowledge and loyalty to truth which characterize the man of science. To force a musician or a poet or a classicist to traverse the whole range of the sciences might be as unwise or as futile as to keep a Faraday writing Latin verses. Moreover, on the exactness of this training in the old Tripos many great investigators have based the thoroughness of their methods. It is, again, not needful for all men to learn all science. If it be needful, it is impossible. From one science the methods of all science may be learned. Respect for knowledge is one of the noblest lessons which real knowledge teaches.

In other words, Mr. Spencer does not seem clearly to realize that each course of study must be individual. Each man should follow, as near as may be, that line of effort which will do the most for him, which will enable him to realize the best possibilities of his own life. There is no single curriculum, no ideal curriculum, and any prearranged course of advanced study is an affront to the mind of the real student. We may admit that the great need of civilized man in each of Mr. Spencer's five categories is science. But

the need is rather that science should exist in the community, that men should realize the value of exact knowledge and respect its teachings. Among men must exist a division of labor. No one man can master even a single branch of science. Mastery means willingness to forego knowledge in other fields. A fixed curriculum even in science, covering a wide range, would necessitate superficiality in all. The real need, as indicated by Mr. Spencer, is therefore met by full provision for the teaching of each of the sciences he names and many others, while among these the student is free to choose for himself. We ask not that science be placed in the curriculum, for we can tolerate no curriculum. The course of study itself is a relic of mediævalism. We ask that science be made accessible to all and in all stages of education. The rest will take care of itself.

A minor criticism is this. Mr. Spencer seems to lay all stress on the subject and to say little of the teacher. He could have shown the unfitness of the teaching force as readily as the unfitness of the subjects taught. In fact, the two deficiencies go together. A true teacher, thorough, alert, devoted, is not a reactionist. He will not place the millineries of culture above the realities, and dead conventionalities above the contact with the living laws of God. Wherever a great teacher has arisen under any system in any subject, something of the facts and methods of science has come in with him. In the very day in which

Spencer wrote, Agassiz taught science in Harvard, both subject and method being dealt with in the most modern fashion, one on which the twentieth century, or the twenty-fifth, can offer no improvement.

Let me recall the discussion, also some forty years old, between Emerson and Agassiz.

Emerson, himself one of the sanest and broadest of men, saw in the work of Agassiz elements of danger, whereby the time-honored symmetry of Harvard might be destroyed. In a lecture on universities, in Boston, Emerson made some such statement as this: That natural history was "getting too great an ascendency at Harvard"; that it "was out of proportion to the other departments." And he hinted that "a check-rein would not be amiss on the enthusiastic young professor who is responsible for this."

"Do you not see," Agassiz wrote to Emerson, "that the way to bring about a well-proportioned development of all the resources of the university is not to check the natural history department, but to stimulate all the others? Not that the zoölogical school grows too fast, but that the others do not grow fast enough? This sounds invidious and perhaps boastful somewhat; but it is you," he said, "and not I, who have instituted the comparison. It strikes me that you have not hit upon the best remedy for this want of balance. If symmetry is to be obtained by cutting down the most vigorous growth, it seems to me it would be better to have a little irregularity here

and there. In stimulating, by every means in my power, the growth of the museum and the means of education connected with it, I am far from having a selfish wish to see my own department tower above the others. I wish that every one of my colleagues would make it hard for me to keep up with him; and there are some, I am happy to say, who are ready to run a race with me."

In these words of Agassiz may be seen the keynote of modern university progress. The university should be the great refuge-hut on the ultimate boundaries of knowledge, from which, daily and weekly, adventurous bands set out on voyages of discovery. It should be the Upernavik from which Polar travelers draw their supplies, and as the shoreless sea of the unknown meets us on every side, the same house of refuge and supply will serve for a thousand different exploring parties, moving out in every direction into the infinite ocean. This is the university ideal of the future. Some day it will be felt as a loss and a crime if any one who could be an explorer is forced to become anything else. And even then, after countless ages of education and scientific progress, the true university will still stand on the boundaries, its walls still washed by the same unending sea, the boundless ocean of possible human knowledge.

Emerson once wrote to his daughter: "It matters little what your studies are: it all lies in who your teacher is." For he saw clearly one of the most

important facts in education, that a great teacher never fails to leave a great mark on every student whose life he touches.

The essential character of the university is *Lehrfreiheit*, the freedom of the teacher to give out the best that is in him, and *Lernfreiheit*, the freedom of the student to demand the best that the teacher can give. The one develops the other. The freedom of the student to ask what he needs stimulates the teacher to give what he demands. The teacher who can give his best and find it appreciated forthwith rises to higher levels of power and the standard of his associates must rise to keep pace with him.

Do the criticisms of Herbert Spencer of forty years ago apply to the American university of today? Are the fundamentals of self-preservation, professional soundness, family integrity, good citizenship, sacrificed to a conventional culture, part æsthetic, part aristocratic, part traditional, and in all ways remote from the needs of life? To say that this is not true in the American university of today, is to say that its work is democratic, practical, scientific and free. That it is all this, I believe we can readily show, and the facts readily appear in the records of those institutions which have been free to develop with the growth of the Republic. We may take Harvard University as an example, the oldest and best established, and on the whole the most typical. Its ideals are certainly very different from those of Oxford forty years ago,

equally different from those of the old Harvard. In the first place, the institution is essentially democratic, not aristocratic. Its work is planned to meet the needs of the actual people, not to separate a choice few as a class apart. Its function is to fill democracy with men fitted to make the rule of the people the best government that exists. And this fact the people fully appreciate. It is the sons of men, not the sons of aristocrats, who throng the halls of Harvard. The large numbers testify to the largeness of the need which Harvard meets. And the diploma of Harvard no longer sets a man apart as a member of a special or privileged class. It testifies simply that he is "a youth of promise," fitted to take his place in the work of the world.

With the democracy among students comes the democracy of studies. The old-time Tripos held sway because its chosen studies were sacred while all others were plebeian. In the new education all powers of the human mind are sacred alike. It is the business of the university to train them, to stimulate them all, not to repress the many for the sake of the few. The student of the human body, the investigator of matter and force, the lover of Greek art, all meet on equal ground on the university's hospitable campus. No longer are the prizes of scholarship offered for play while the serious worker among things as they are encounters a barred door. The rewards of knowing and doing are offered to all alike, and these are the

only legitimate prizes within the scope of the university. To place all men and all studies on one footing, is to make a real Republic of the university. This once done, the question of "What knowledge is of most worth?" is one for each man to answer for himself. What knowledge is worth most to me? And the very attempt to answer this question is in itself one of the most important factors in higher education. That each should answer it for himself is the essential element in the freedom of the university, and each year as it passes sees the American university more democratic and more free.

That the work should be practical means that it should be conducted by competent teachers. Darwin tells us that the lectures in geology in Edinburgh in his day were so "incredibly dull" that he resolved that he would have "nothing more to do with the subject, nor ever to read a book upon it." Such teaching was not practical, for the subject-matter of geology is of interest to whoever comes into intelligent contact with it. The most practical teaching is that in which the subject is borne most strongly to the student's mind. The professorship in Harvard, let us say, is not given as a reward for social or ecclesiastical distinction, or for a competitive *tour de force* in memory. It is given to those scholars who know how to teach, who know how to reach the heart of their subjects for themselves and to bring their students to the same vitalizing contact. And in the choice of

teachers the demands of democracy are always considered. In each department is wanted the best that there is, and no department of rational human interest is overlooked or slighted.

Is the American university scientific? If we answer Yes, we do not mean that science only is studied, nor even that every individual student is giving attention to science. "America means opportunity," and the American university is an intensification of this same definition of Emerson's. The university does its part, not in forcing the student over a curriculum of all sciences or of any sciences. It has only to make generous provision for the teaching of each and all of them, and to leave the rest to the student. The cost of teaching science is far greater than that of teaching language and mathematics. The vast endowments of our great universities of today find their justification in this fact. These schools are trying honestly to bring before the student the possibilities of human knowledge. The individual sciences are not favored at the expense of the traditional subjects. More money is spent on the teaching of Greek today than ever before, but Greek no longer occupies an exclusive position. It is not an object of worship while physiology is an object of contempt. Once thrown to the democratic level, we find the classics of Greece really exalted. Homer and Euripides are studied now for their own sakes, not for the badge or hood or gown or social distinction that they may

in a roundabout way confer. So they are studied by scholars with the methods and purposes of scholars, not by recalcitrant schoolboys, driven over an unwilling race-course in response to the demands of tradition. To say that the university is scientific is to say that it is genuine, that it is devoted to realities, not to make-believes and shams. It is said that "respect the outside" was a favored motto of the old education in England. But science does not respect the outside. It aims to go to the very heart of things, and in proportion to the extension of its spirit do we witness the disappearance of caste and conventions. The things men agree to pretend to be true vanish at the touch of truth.

It is true that we have in America not a few institutions in which the traditional ideals are still cherished and to which the criticisms of Mr. Spencer still apply in full force. But these are few and not typical, and their influence is not growing. The students go where they can get what they want, and the Zeitgeist responds to their demand. The American university of today is molded by the best scientific thought of the century. One of the voices to which it has responded is that of Herbert Spencer. And the essence of his criticism has found positive expression in the constructive work of the great university-builders of our Republic. Let the young man or young woman of today ask, "What knowledge is of most worth to me?" In the course of study of our American universities will be found the unhampered answer, the

answer of Herbert Spencer, if you like, the answer of Agassiz, or Emerson or Eliot or White, the materials for your own answer, whatever it be. And whatever you may require, you will not be turned away empty-handed.

The progress of the next half-century will be, not in development of new lines in education, but in intensification of the work we are now doing. It will be in developing better teachers and in closer contact between teacher and pupil. We must realize that the needs of the student form the sole reason for the university's existence. It is built that it may help men. Forty years ago in English universities the good teacher was the very rare exception and was practically found only among the private tutors dependent for a living on the young men they taught. The university professors held their positions as sinecures, rewards for birth or breeding or efforts in the past, but requiring no expenditure of force in the present. This condition is not wholly vanished from the English universities and its shadow still darkens even the universities of America.

There was a time when the ambition to be a good teacher was regarded in our colleges as an ignoble one. The college professor was a being of a higher order, temporarily in hard luck, because he was forced for a living to sit out his days before classes of unwilling boys. To be above one's work was held as the maintenance of proper academic dignity.

This condition is rapidly passing. The college professor, like other men, is judged by what he does. Yet even now, not half the men who hold the professor's chair can be called good teachers. The real work of every institution rests on a very few men. The others mark time and assign tasks, their personality counting for very little. The progress of education demands that each man who holds a college chair should directly contribute to higher education. It is not his knowledge alone which concerns the student. His effectiveness depends upon his personality. The university of the future will demand the character of the great teacher, the man who believes in truth, who believes in men, and who knows how to lead men to the highest truth he knows.

The best teacher, other things being equal, is the one who comes nearest to the student. To bring the teacher close to the student is to multiply his influence many-fold. The very usefulness of our universities tends to weaken the bond of personal influence. The man is lost in the mass, and because the mass is so great, cheap or temporary help is brought in, and the professor is pushed away still farther. It is the problem of the modern university to remedy this condition. In the old-time college every one knew every one else, and if perchance in the small number one great teacher found place, the lives of all the others were richer in consequence. But in the university of today, with its array of great teachers, of noble

investigators, of men whose names are known wherever civilization extends, the mere student may see none of them. Temporary assistants at a thousand a year, less experienced and less capable than those he left in the academy, may be the only teachers he can reach. When this is the condition, higher education has lost a large part of its effectiveness.

The keynote to the education of the future must be "Constructive Individualism." The foundation of its method must be "knowing men by name." This is no new discovery. It was not invented in Palo Alto, nor yet in Harvard, nor in Michigan. It is as old as Socrates or Plato. It has been recognized wherever the training of men has been taken seriously.

A Japanese writer, Uchimura, says this of education in old Japan: "We were not taught in classes then. The grouping of soul-bearing human beings into classes, as sheep upon Australian farms, was not known in our old schools. Our teachers believed, I think instinctively, that man (*persona*) is unclassifiable; that he must be dealt with personally—*i. e.*, face to face, and soul to soul. So they schooled us one by one—each according to his idiosyncrasies, physical, mental and spiritual. *They knew each one of us by name.* And as asses were never harnessed with horses, there was but little danger of the latter being beaten down into stupidity, or the former driven into the valedictorians' graves. In this respect, therefore, our old-time teachers in Japan agreed with

Socrates and Plato in their theory of education. So naturally the relation between students and teachers was the closest one possible. We never called our teachers by that unapproachable name, Professor. We called them Sensei, 'men born before'—so named because of their prior birth, not only in respect of the time of their appearance in this world, which was not always the case, but also of their coming into the understanding of the truth. It was this, our idea of relationship between teacher and student, which made some of us to comprehend at once the intimate relation between the Master and the disciples which we found in the Christian Bible. When we found written therein that the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord; or that the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep, and other similar sayings, we took them almost instinctively as things known to us long before."

Thus it was in old Japan. Thus should it be in new America. In such manner do the oldest ideas forever renew their youth, when these ideas are based, not on tradition or convention, but in the nature of man.

We may thus answer Mr. Spencer's question, "What knowledge is of most worth?" in this way: "That which is worth most to me." And the mission of the university is to furnish this knowledge, just this knowledge which I want, and to furnish it to me.

V.

RECENT TENDENCIES IN COLLEGE EDUCATION.

IT HAS long been recognized that a four years' college course, after the course in the secondary school, and preceding the course in professional training, holds the young man a very long time in school. Few men are prepared for college, as matters stand, before the age of seventeen or eighteen. Few graduate under twenty-one or twenty-two, and the professional school demands the years to twenty-four, twenty-five or twenty-six. After this follows another year or two of petty beginnings, and by the time the young man is fairly under way, he has reached the age of thirty. If from ill health, hesitation of policy, or for any other reason, the college course is delayed, the entrance on professional life becomes correspondingly later. By this process, the ancient rule of health, "Rise early, before you are twenty-five, if possible," is persistently violated.

There is no advantage in merely putting in time in college at the expense of serious work outside. Every day in school should justify itself. Wherever

time can be saved without sacrifice of results, it is a real gain in education.

The college course has been systematically lengthened within the past twenty years. It has been made longer that it may be enriched and made effective. To this end, subject after subject of an elementary character has been thrown backward to the preparatory schools. In this, there are some advantages. The college with more advanced pupils becomes more serious and more enlightened. It offers a broader range of subjects, and touches the interests of a much larger number of men.

On the other hand, students are often kept in their local high schools until they are tired of the place and tired of the work. Higher education begins when a boy leaves home and learns to depend on himself. Because the high schools have an inadequate and over-feminine teaching force, very many boys who might have been helped by a college education abandon school long before they are ready to enter college. There is a constant pressure on the preparatory school to undertake more work and to do it more rapidly. The preparatory school tries to do this, with some success and also with serious drawbacks, because the results are tested by the quantity rather than the quality of work done.

The college has not yet devised a qualitative scale of admission. Not how much the student knows, but what is the nature of his ability and training, should

be the test of preparation. The college ought to insist that the student shall be able to go on with the higher work successfully, rather than that he should have to his credit such and such subjects, or their equivalents. But it is easier to make numerical estimates than to test the student's mettle. It is easier to measure cordwood than culture, and our tests of preparation are based on the method used in estimating cordwood.

The college should receive men whenever they are ready for its freedom and ready to do its work. If it can devise a sure method, it may "dip down" into the lower schools and take their best students when they have reached fitness for independent study.

Having turned the freshman year of former days over to the preparatory schools, the college can now do correspondingly more in its senior year. Shall it use this time for general culture, or for professional training? Here the pressure to yield this year to the professional schools makes itself felt. In America, the professional schools have vainly tried to train men who have no foundation of knowledge or discipline; to make lawyers and physicians out of men with neither scientific knowledge nor literary culture. This has failed, and in its failure has brought all American professions, except engineering, into disrepute.

The reputable professional school demands, or will soon demand, a college education as a prerequisite for

entrance. No man with less training than this can do specialized work in university fashion. The college course represents a degree of enlightenment and a kind of training without which professional success and usefulness are not possible. The extension of the elective system has enabled the college to meet the needs of all kinds of men of brains and force. To shorten the college course to three years is to yield the last year to the professional schools, and these sorely need the time.

Another influence tending in this direction comes from the German educational system. In Germany, the local high school, or gymnasium, takes, let us say, two of the years we give to the college. The professional school or university takes the rest. The university gives no general culture or general training. The gymnasium gives nothing else, and its curriculum is as rigid as that of the university is free.

While German educators are considering the possible introduction of the college as an intermediate between the college and the university, there is in America a tendency toward the obliteration of the college, by merging its higher years into the university, its lower into the preparatory school.

It is true that in the gymnasium students get on faster than in our high schools and preparatory schools. The German student is as far along in his studies at sixteen as the American at eighteen. This is due to the fact that American life makes more out-

side demands on boys than life in Germany does. The American boy is farther along in self-reliance and in knowledge of the world at sixteen than the German at twenty. The American college freshman, especially if brought up in the West, knows a thousand things, outside of his books and more useful, because more true than most of what his books contain. He can ride, drive, swim, row, hunt, take care of horses, play games, run an engine, or attend to some form of business, while the German boy cannot even black his own shoes. As education is no perquisite of the rich, the American boy has very likely been obliged to earn the money he spends on his own education. To do this he loses time in scholastic marks, but in the long run this is clear gain, provided that he does not abandon his education. The boy who graduates at twenty-four is often more than three years ahead of the one who takes his bachelor's degree at twenty-one. To lose time in testing life is not a loss at all, and the American boy is the stronger for his early escape from leading strings. When his university training is over, he is not merely learned; he is adequate, and the higher ideal of personal effectiveness supplements the German ideal of erudition, or the English ideal of personal culture.

It is proposed now to let a man graduate in three years, provided he can do four years' average work in that time. This is no new proposition and needs no discussion. Many men can do in three years more

than the average man can in four. In many institutions, in most of those in the West, this privilege has been allowed for many years. If guarded from abuse, and if the possibility of mere cramming is excluded, there can be no objection to it. In many institutions a man graduates whenever he has done the required work, and the propriety of this needs no argument.

But the average man cannot do the required work in less than four years. What shall we do for him? It is practicable to reduce the amount of work required for graduation. This would still leave the college course longer than it was twenty years ago, because so much more is now required for admission to college.

I do not believe that this is the best solution. It is better, I believe, to bring the elements of professional knowledge and the beginning of advanced research into the course itself. It is better to break down the barrier between the college and the university, by letting the university dip down into the college. For example, in making lawyers, the work in the foundations of law can be relegated to the college, as in making chemists we now teach elementary chemistry in the freshman year. In training physicians, the elementary work, physiology, general anatomy, histology, and chemistry, should all be in the college course, and in making scientific men of any grade, the senior year is none too early for the beginnings of scientific research. I believe that the four years'

college course offers a great advantage. It is now possible to offer the serious student, before graduating, the crowning value of the college course,—something of the method of research. It is likewise possible to offer the elements of professional training inside the college course, and not as an affair wholly separate. In favor of this arrangement, the following facts may be urged:

It is an advantage to college training to relate it to life. The sooner a man knows what he is to do in life, and gets at it, the better. This being admitted, the fuller the preparation the better, provided the final goal is always kept in view. To make a first-rate surgeon, the scalpel should be in use from youth onward. It need not be used on the human body, but the methods of histology and anatomy should be learned early and never allowed to fall into disuse. To put an embryo physician through four years of classics and mathematics, and then to turn him suddenly into dissection and clinic, is to invite failure. He has learned nothing of research in his college course, his hand has grown clumsy and his power of observation is dulled. To be a good physician, he should have turned his whole college course in that direction,—not that he should have had less of literature and the humanities, but that these should aid science, not displace it.

A young man makes a better lawyer if he is in some degree a law student throughout his college

course, for six or seven years, not merely for three at the end. Elementary equity is in no sense an advanced study. It has a natural place in the college curriculum, with just as much right as economics, or the history of philosophy, and to the ordinary college course the universities should relegate elementary law, physiology, histology, comparative anatomy, and all forms of science which are elementary and fundamental to professional research. When this is done, four years will be none too long for general training, and the professional departments will deal with men prepared to do serious work, men worthy of the advantages the best libraries and laboratories can have to offer. Then, if the time is to be shortened, the result can be reached by the higher demands of the professional schools. It is absurd to call the department of law "a graduate school" when half its students are engaged with the a-b-c of equity, a subject as elementary as trigonometry or qualitative analysis. Let elementary law go with elementary chemistry and the advanced school can devote itself to advanced training, and a man who is to be a lawyer can think in terms of law throughout his college course. He will be a better lawyer for doing so, and his work being better related to life, he will be in every other respect a better scholar on account of it.

Leaving out ill-equipped or temporary schools, the American professional school of the future will have one or the other of two great purposes. The one is

typified, perhaps, by the Professional Schools of Michigan. The professional school will take the profession as it is and raise it as a whole. So many men will be doctors, so many will be lawyers in Michigan. Let us take them as we find them and make them just as good lawyers and doctors as we can. Let us not drive them away by requirements they cannot or will not meet, but adjust the work and conditions to the best they can meet, the best standards winning in the long run and carrying public opinion with them.

The other ideal is perhaps typified by Johns Hopkins University. Let the university medical school deal with the exceptional man of exceptional ability and exceptional training. Give him special advantages, send out a limited number of the best physicians possible, and raise the standard of the profession by filling its ranks with the best the university can send.

The one ideal or the other will be, consciously or not, before each professional school which strives to be really helpful. It is not for me to say which is the better. The one purpose naturally presents itself to state institutions, or to institutions dependent on appropriations or patronage. The other is more readily achieved by institutions of independent endowment. It is a matter of economy that all schools should not be alike in this regard.

The high school course gives a certain breadth of culture. The high school of today is as good as the

college of forty years ago, so far as studies go. It misses the fact of going away from home and of close relation with men of higher wisdom and riper experience than our high schools demand in their teachers. It takes a broader mental horizon to be a physician than merely to practice medicine, to be a lawyer than merely to practice law. Those who want the least education possible can get along with very little; they can omit the college. But for large-minded, widely competent men, men fit for great duties, not a moment of the college course can be spared. Whether to take a college education or not, depends on the man—what there is in him—and on the course of study. There is no magic in the name of college, and there is no gain in wrong subjects, work shirked, or in right subjects taken under wrong teachers. Studies, like other food, must be assimilated before they can help the system.

The great indictment of the college is its waste of the student's time; prescribed studies taken unwillingly; irrelevant studies taken to fill up; helpful studies taken under poor teachers; any kind of studies taken idly,—all these have tended to discredit the college course. Four years is all too short for a liberal education, if every moment be utilized. Two years is all too long, if they are spent in idleness and dissipation, or if tainted by the spirit of indifference.

The spirit of the college is more important than the time it takes. The college atmosphere should be

a clean and wholesome one, full of impulses to action. It is good to breathe this air, and in doing so, it matters little whether one's studies be wholly professional, half professional, or directed towards ends of culture alone.

In city colleges where the students live at home, traveling back and forth on street cars, a college atmosphere cannot be developed. In these institutions, as a rule, the college work is perfunctory, its recitations being often regarded as a disagreeable interpretation of social and athletic affairs. As a rule, higher education begins when a man leaves home to become part of a guild of scholars. The city college is merely a continued high school, and with both students and teachers there is a willingness to cut it as short as possible, so that the young men can "get down to business." In institutions of this type, the professional school forms a sharp contrast to the college in its stronger requirements and more serious purpose. In other types of college, it is the general student who does the best work. In many of them the professional departments are far inferior in tone and spirit to the general academic course.

It becomes, then, a question as to the college itself, how long a student should stay in. If the academic requirements are severe, just and honest; if the idler, the butterfly, the blockhead and the parasite are promptly dropped from the rolls; if the spirit

of plain living and high thinking rules in the college, the student should stay there as long as he can, and, if possible, take part of his professional work under its guidance. The nearer the teacher, the better the work. The value of teachers grows less as the square of their distance increases. If the college course is a secondary matter, with inferior teachers talking down to their students, studies prescribed because the faculty cares too little for the individual man to adapt its courses to his needs,—an atmosphere of trifling, or no atmosphere at all,—the sooner the student gets into something real, the better. A good university may develop in a great city, a good college cannot, because students and teachers are all too far apart.

In this matter the college degree is only an incident. It is the badge of admission to the roll of alumni, a certificate of good fellowship, which always means a little and may imply a great deal. But the degree is only one of the toys of our educational babyhood, as hoods and gowns represent educational bib and tucker. Don't go out of your way to take a degree. Don't miss it because you are in too great a hurry. For the highest professional success, you can afford to take your time. It takes a larger provision for a cruise to the Cape of Good Hope than for a run to the Isle of Dogs.

The primitive American college was built strictly on English models. Its purpose was to breed clergy-

men and gentlemen, and to fix on these its badge of personal culture, raising them above the common mass of men. Till within the last thirty years the traditions of the English Tripos held undisputed sway. We need not go into details of the long years in which Latin, Greek and mathematics, with a dash of outworn philosophy, constituted higher education in America. The value of the classical course lay largely in its continuity. Whoever learned Greek, the perfect language and the noble literature, gained something with which he would never willingly part. Even the weariness of Latin grammar and the intricacies of half-understood calculus have their value in the comradery of common suffering and common hope. The weakness of the classical course lay in its lack of relation to life. It had more charms for pedants than for men, and the men of science and the men of action turned away hungry from it.

The growth of the American university came on by degrees, different steps, some broadening, some weakening, by which the tyranny of the Tripos was broken, and the democracy of studies established with the democracy of men.

It was something over thirty years ago when Herbert Spencer asked this great question: "What knowledge is of most worth?" To the schoolmen of England this came as a great shock, as it had never occurred to most of them that any knowledge had any value at all. Its function was to produce

culture, which, in turn, gave social position. That there were positive values and relative values was new in their philosophy. Spencer went on to show that those subjects had most value which most strengthened and enriched life, first, those needful to the person, then those of value in professional training, then in the rearing of the family, the duty as a citizen, and finally those fitting for esthetic enjoyment. For all these, except the last, the English universities made no preparation, and for all these purposes Spencer found the highest values in science, the accumulated, tested, arranged results of human experience. Spencer's essay assumed that there was some one best course of study — the best for every man. This is one of the greatest fallacies in education. Moreover, he took little account of the teacher, perhaps assuming with some other English writers that all teachers were equally inefficient, and that the difference between one and another may be regarded as negligible.

It has been left for American experimenters in education to insist on the democracy of the intellect. The best subjects for any man to study are those best fitted for his own individual development, those which will help make the actual most of him and his life. Democracy of intellect does not mean equality of brains, still less indifference in regard to their quality. It means simply fair play in the schedule of studies. It means the development of fit courses of study, not traditional ones, of a "tailor-made" curriculum for

each man instead of the "hand-me-down" article, misfitting all alike.

In the time of James II, Richard Rumbold "never could believe that God had created a few men already booted and spurred, with millions already saddled and bridled for these few to ride." In like fashion, Andrew Dickson White could never believe that God had created a taste for the niceties of grammar or even the appreciation of noble literature, these few tastes to be met and trained while the vast body of other talents were to be left unaided and untouched, because of their traditional inferiority. In unison with President White, Ezra Cornell declared that he "would found an institution where any person could find instruction in any study." In like spirit the Morrill Act was framed, bringing together all rays of various genius, the engineer, and the psychologist, the student of literature and the student of exact science, "Greek-minded" men and tillers of the soil, each to do his own work in the spirit of equality before the law. Under the same roof each one gains by mutual association. The literary student gains in seriousness and power, the engineer in refinement and appreciation. Like in character is the argument for co-education, a condition encouraged by this same Morrill Act. The men become more refined from association with noble women, the women more earnest from association with serious men. The men are more manly, the women more womanly in co-

education, a condition opposed alike to rowdyism and frivolity.

In the same line we must count the influence of Mark Tappan, perhaps the first to conceive of a state university, existing solely for the good of the state, to do the work the state most needs, regardless of what other institutions may do in other states. Agassiz in these same times insisted that advanced work is better than elementary, for its better disciplinary quality. He insisted that Harvard in his day was only "a respectable high school, where they taught the dregs of education." Thorough training in some one line he declared was the backbone of education. It was the base line by which the real student was enabled to measure scholarship in others.

In most of our colleges the attempt to widen the course of study by introducing desirable things preceded the discovery that general courses of study prearranged had no real value. We should learn that all prescribed work is bad work unless it is prescribed by the nature of the subject. The student in electrical engineering takes to mathematics, because he knows that his future success with electricity depends on his mastery of mechanics and the calculus. In the same fashion, the student in medicine is willing to accept chemistry and physiology as prescribed studies. But a year in chemistry, or two years in higher mathematics, put in for the broadening of the mind or because the faculty decrees it, has no broadening

effect. Work arbitrarily prescribed is always poorly done; it sets low standards, and works demoralization instead of training. There cannot be a greater educational farce than the required year of science in certain literary courses. The student picks out the easiest science, the easiest teacher and the easiest way to avoid work, and the whole requirement is a source of moral evil. Nothing could be farther from the scientific method than a course in science taken without the element of personal choice.

The traditional courses of study were first broken up by the addition of short courses in one thing or another, substitutes for Latin or Greek, patchwork courses without point or continuity. These substitute courses were naturally regarded as inferior, and for them very properly a new degree was devised, the degree of B. S.—Bachelor of Surfaces.

That work which is required in the nature of things is taken seriously. Serious work sets the pace, exalts the teacher, inspires the man. The individual man is important enough to justify his teachers in taking the time and the effort to plan a special course for him.

Through the movement towards the democracy of studies and constructive individualism, a new ideal is being reached in American universities, that of personal effectiveness. The ideal in England has always been that of personal culture; that of France, the achieving, through competitive examinations, of ready-

made careers, the satisfaction of what Villari* calls "Impiegomania," the craze for appointment; that of Germany, thoroughness of knowledge; that of America, the power to deal with men and conditions. Everywhere we find abundant evidence of personal effectiveness of American scholars. Not abstract thought, not life-long investigation of minute data, not separation from men of lower fortune, but the power to bring about results is the characteristic of the American scholar of today.

From this point of view the progress of the American university is most satisfactory, and most encouraging. The large tendencies are moving in the right direction. What shall we say of the smaller ones?

Not long ago, the subject of discussion in a thoughtful address was this: the "Peril of the Small College." The small college has been the guardian

*"A consequence of cheap higher education in Italy is the vast and ever-increasing army of the educated unemployed [called *spostati*]. Every year a large number of graduates in law, medicine, belles-lettres and science are turned out into the world to enter professions in which there is no room for them. Their education has unfitted them for useful work without enabling them to succeed in the liberal professions. Men who in England would go into business or emigrate to America or the Colonies, in Italy become lawyers without clients, doctors without patients, journalists and *litterateurs* without readers, professors without pupils. Some succeed in getting a little work by underselling abler men, thus lowering the already low professional incomes; others lead idle and vicious lives for a time, and drift into Socialism and Anarchism in Northern Italy, or into the *Mafia* and the *Camorra* in the South. But a large number try to obtain that panacea for all ills — Government employment. *Impiegomania* is a recognized disease in Italy, and a young man who can obtain an appointment in a Government office, where he has little work and a salary of £50 or £60 a year, thinks himself at the height of earthly bliss. Government employment is the Holy Grail of three-quarters of the university graduates. The most miserably paid *impiegato* or the most unsuccessful professional man regards himself as superior to the most prosperous tradesman or skilled mechanic."—*Villari*—"*Village Life in Town and Country*."

It is not the cheapness of higher education which is here at fault, but its misdirection and the wrong motives ruling in Italian society.

of higher education in the past. It is most helpful in the present and we cannot afford to let it die. We understand that the large college becomes the university. Because it is rich, it attempts advanced work and work in many lines. It takes its opportunity, and an opportunity which the small college cannot grasp. Advanced work costs money. A wide range of subjects, taught with men, libraries and laboratories, is a costly matter, but by a variety of supply the demand is formed. The large college has many students, because it offers many opportunities. Because large opportunities bring influence and students and gifts, there is a tendency to exaggerate them. It is easy to feel that the facilities we offer are greater than is really the case. We are led to boast, because only boasting seems to catch the public eye.

The peril of the small college is the peril of all colleges, the temptation of advertising. All boasting is self-cheapening. The peril of the small college is that in its effort to become large it shall cease to be sound. The small college can do good elementary work in several lines. It can do good advanced work in a very few. If it keeps its perspective, if it does only what it can do well, and does not pretend that bad work is good work, or that the work beyond its reach is not worth doing, it is in no danger. The small college may become either a junior college or high-grade preparatory school, sending its men elsewhere for the flower of their college education, or

else it must become a small university running narrowly on a few lines, but attending to these with devotion and persistence. Either of these are honorable conditions. For the first of these the small college has a great advantage. It can come close to its students; it can "know its men by name." The value of a teacher is enhanced as he becomes more accessible. The work of the freshman and sophomore years in many of our great colleges is sadly inadequate, because its means are not fitted to its ends. In very few of our large colleges does the elementary work receive the care its importance deserves.

The great college can draw the best teachers away from the small colleges. In this regard the great college has an immense advantage. It has the best teachers, the best trained, the best fitted for the work of training. But in most cases the freshman never discovers this. There is no worse teaching done under the sun than in the lower classes of some of our most famous colleges. Cheap tutors, inexperienced and underpaid, are set to lecture to classes far beyond their power to interest. We are saving our money for original research, careless of the fact that we fail to give the elementary training which makes research possible. Too often, indeed, research itself, the noblest of all university functions, is made an advertising fad. The demands of the university press have swollen the literature of science, but they have proved

a doubtful aid to its quality. Get something ready. Send it out. Show that we are doing something. All this never advanced science. It is through men born to research, trained to research, choicest product of nature and art, that science advances.

Another effect of the advertising spirit is the cheapening of salaries. The smaller the salaries, the more departments we can support. It is the spirit of advertising that leads some institutions to tolerate a type of athlete who comes as a student with none of the student's purpose. I am a firm believer in college athletics. I have done my part in them in college and out. I know that "the color of life is red," but the value of athletic games is lost when outside gladiators are hired to play them. No matter what the inducement, the athletic contest has no value except as the spontaneous effort of the college man. To coddle the athlete is to render him a professional. If an institution makes one rule for the ordinary student and another for the athlete it is party to a fraud. Without some such concession, half the great football teams of today could not exist. I would rather see football disappear and the athletic fields closed for ten years for fumigation than to see our colleges helpless in the hands of athletic professionalism, as many of them are today.

This is a minor matter in one sense, but it is pregnant with large dangers. Whatever the scholar does should be clean. What has the support of boards of

scholars should be noble, helpful and inspiring. For the evils of college athletics, the apathy of college faculties is solely responsible. The blame falls on us: let us rise to our duty.

There is something wrong in our educational practice when a wealthy idler is allowed to take the name of student, on the sole condition that he and his grooms shall pass occasional examinations. There is no justification for the granting of degrees on cheap terms, to be used in social decoration. It is said that the chief of the great coaching trust in one of our universities earns a salary larger than was ever paid to any honest teacher. His function is to take the man who has spent the term in idleness or dissipation, and by a few hours' ingenious coaching to enable him to write a paper as good as that of a real student. The examinations thus passed are mere shams, and by the tolerance of the system the teaching force becomes responsible for it. No educational reform of the day is more important than the revival of honesty in regard to credits and examinations, such a revival of honest methods as shall make coaching trusts impossible.

The same methods which cure the aristocratic ills of idleness and cynicism are equally effective in the democratic vice of rowdyism. With high standards of work, set not at long intervals by formal examinations, but by the daily vigilance and devotion of real teachers, all these classes of mock students disappear.

The football tramp vanishes before the work-test.

The wealthy boy takes his proper place when honest, democratic brain effort is required of him. If he is not a student, he will no longer pretend to be one and ought not to be in college. The rowdy, the mucker, the hair-cutting, gate-lifting, cane-rushing imbecile is never a real student. He is a gamin masquerading in cap and gown. The requirement of scholarship brings him to terms. If we insist that our colleges shall not pretend to educate those who cannot or will not be educated, we shall have no trouble with the moral training of the students.

Above all, in the West, where education is free, we should insist that free tuition means serious work, that education means opportunity, that the student should do his part, and that the degree of the university should not be the seal of academic approbation of four years of idleness, rowdyism, profligacy or dissipation.

Higher education, properly speaking, begins when a young man goes away from home to school. The best part of higher education is the development of the instincts of the gentleman and the horizon of the scholar. To this end self-directed industry is one of the most effective agents. As the force of example is potent in education, a college should tolerate idleness and vice neither among its students nor among its teachers.

VI.

THE PERSONALITY OF THE UNIVERSITY.

I AM asked, as a loyal citizen of California and as a representative of a sister republic of letters, which California cherishes across the bay, to add a word to the generous welcome which California gives to the president of her university. My words, Mr. President, shall be words of advice, not that you need it, or should ever heed it, but because there is no other article of value with which I can so willingly part.

It is a saying of Emerson that "colleges can only serve us when their aim is not to drill but to create. They draw every ray of varied genius to their hospitable halls, and by their concentrated influence set the heart of our youth into flame." The most precious thing in human life is personality. It is by this we know our friends and for this we love them. In most respects, as living organisms, men are alike. Each has eyes, hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions, is fed with the same food, hurt by the same weapons, warmed or cooled by the same winter or summer, and each in his degree is "pleased with a

rattle, tickled with a straw." For all this we do not care. What is all alike never interests us. It is the slight and subtle elements of difference which help us to know one man from another, which enable us to love, to respect, to worship one man above his fellows. Among a thousand vegetative characters, we are touched by the one quality of personality, made up of a dozen minor attributes of kindness, wit, gladness, brilliancy, effectiveness, making a whole which we may love, fear or obey.

In the same way, a university must have personality, else it cannot be great. A university is an aggregation of professorships, departments, buildings, books, seminaries and laboratories. But it is more than this. It is a place where students of all degrees come together in the democracy of learning. It is an alliance of men devoted to the discovery and administration of the truth. But this is not all of the university ideal, for all universities, in their degree, are devoted to the same ends. In superficial regards all universities are alike. All have buildings, libraries, museums, microscopes, professorships. These are the university's vegetative organs. Without these it would not live, but by these only one university would not differ from another. It is not for these things all have in common that we know universities. Just as with men, it is the subtle element of personality. The Harvard spirit, the Cornell spirit, the Yale spirit, the spirit of Berkeley, the spirit of Stanford, all these are

matters as real as the building or the books, and more important.

For the most valuable feature of a university is its character, the nature of its university atmosphere. This atmosphere is the conscious or unconscious work of the men who control. The atmosphere of greatness gathers around great teachers. Werner at Freiberg, Döllinger at Munich, Arnold at Rugby, Tappan at Ann Arbor, Hopkins at Williamstown, Agassiz at Cambridge, White at Ithaca — these serve only as illustrations. As with these, so with all great teachers everywhere.

As the universities of America are constituted, it is the part of the president to create the university atmosphere. He must set its pace, must frame its ideals and choose the men in whom these ideals can be realized. It is through the men he chooses that the university becomes a living person. The president is not himself the king. His noblest work is that of maker of kings. It is not what the president himself can do that first concerns the university. His personal power, skill or versatility are of little moment. It is what he can discern and divine in other men that gauges success. It is his instinct to know what the best work of others may be and how he can use it in the fabric he is building. A long head and long patience he must needs have, for he has often to wait years for men to grow to what he expects of them, and others to find men to whom he can look for the right kind of growth. He

must have the instinct to judge men and to estimate what men say of men. He must be keen to recognize in others qualities of worth he may not possess himself. He must have the wisdom to foster individual freedom and the firmness to check that freedom that spends itself in futile, erratic or sentimental efforts.

Out of all this and a hundred other elements, it is your place, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, as president of the great university of our great state, to construct your purpose and your policy, and to give the university its personality, its color and its atmosphere. Above all rests with you the forming of its moral tone, for after all character-building is the noblest work of the university, and I am one of those who believe that in this work the university may be made the most effective agency. I have known you for many years, Dr. Wheeler — thirteen years, is it not, in all? — always adequate to the work the gods set you to do. I know that you can meet, and will meet, all that the state expects of you. Because this is so, I regard this day, this 25th day of October, 1899, as one of the greatest, full of the fullest of hope, of all the days in the calendar of California.

Just one word more.

Some time ago a regent of the university said to me, "Now that we have Wheeler, we must change our notion of rivalry. Henceforth it shall not be Berkeley against Stanford, nor Stanford against

Berkeley, but California against the world." Now in all seriousness, why not? We recognize how natural advantages count in every field of labor, horse-raising, fruit-growing, ship-building. Why not in education? In the environment fittest for training young men and women, there are three mighty elements — healthfulness, beauty, freedom. These three are the distinctive characteristics of California. A perfect climate which calls one out of doors at all times of the year, and rewards him for his coming, matchless beauty of mountain and forest, of lake and of the sea, of hill and river, and with endless elbow room, intellectually, physically and morally! If we add to this the two universities, rival and coöperating, as well endowed as the best, and fairer in houses and outlook than the most beautiful of all the land, why should not California become a world-center of education? Men once flocked to Athens for such things. Why should they not come here? Why not Berkeley and Stanford, together and indivisible, against the world?

It has been Dr. Wheeler's good fortune and mine to sit at the feet of the same great master, Andrew D. White. We can remember President White's appeal to his alumni, that, wherever we might go, we should stand by "our state universities, for in them is the educational hope of the South and West." We of Stanford are not deaf to this appeal. We are citizens of California loyal and true. We shall stand by our state university, for in its development is the educa-

tional hope of our Golden West, and we pledge to President Wheeler our help in fullest loyalty, whenever and wherever and howsoever he may ask our aid.

VII.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF THE BUSINESS MAN.

IN THIS discussion the business man is held to be a man fitted to take charge of or assist in large financial enterprises in manufacture, commerce, transportation or banking. In this sense a salesman, stenographer or cash-boy is not a business man.

By higher education we mean that intellectual training in varied subjects to be had in a specialized school, in general away from home, a school of such breadth and intensity as to have a definite college or university atmosphere. The ordinary business school or trade school, teaching devices without mental training, would not meet this definition, and the classical college with its limited range of instruction would meet it only in part.

The man with brains needs a corresponding degree of education. The greater the natural fitness the greater the need for thorough training and the more worthy the final result.

The best education for a man of brains and character involves three elements:

1. It should be directed toward a definite end. The sooner this end is seen the better, and it should always be kept in view.

2. Being definite, the education should be broad and thorough, including all that is finally essential to the highest success.

3. It should be related to the future activities of life, in part toward professional success, in part toward success as a man.

Toward human success, the growth of character, the college has always done its part. It has not always been mindful of the needs of the man as a worker in society. To relate knowledge to life has been one of its chief problems in recent years. To this end the college must adapt its work to the individual man. What one mind finds inspiring or helpful is useless to another. By means of the element of choice, it has been possible to broaden and deepen the work of the college and to draw into its range an ever widening circle of men.

To do justice to the business man, the college should give him early skill in a few simple subjects, which have little value in mental training. The college will save his time by teaching these regardless of their academic value. It can teach stenography, bookkeeping and commercial law, as it now teaches woodworking, voice culture and punctuation. The student's need is the college's justification. For the rest the business man will find many of his special needs met

by studies which are distinctly academic; among these, English composition and English literature, American history and modern history of Europe and Asia, elementary law, international law, political science, economics, finance, German, Spanish and the serious drill of at least one of the sciences. Especially valuable to the man of affairs is a practical familiarity with the methods of scientific research, for by such methods alone is research of any kind made effective.

By sound methods he should investigate such subjects as these: the effects on business of gold and other standards of value; the effects of protective tariff and other tariffs; the results on commerce of friendly and unfriendly foreign relations; the relation of trade to the flag; the results, immediate and ultimate, of subsidies, trusts and bounties; the possibilities of railway control; the methods of dignified and economical local government; the question of municipal control; the meaning of civil service reform. To have worked out some serious problem in science by sound methods and then to have applied the same methods to the solution of any one of these problems will be worth more to the real business man than ten years of practical experience as cash boy, errand boy, floor-walker and clerk.

These subjects and others of like character should be studied not didactically, not emotionally, but by practical investigation of the lines of actual business. To give sound methods of investigation is the highest

duty of the real university. A system of training which misses this should hardly be called education, for it is the function of training to disclose the secret of power.

To secure power no experience is so valuable as that which may be obtained in college, and four years, or even seven years, is a period all too short. Because it is short, there should be no waste of time, no random effort. All work should look toward the final goal, not forgetting of course the needs of personal culture. Thus a man may properly turn aside from his life study to study Greek or music or botany, not because he needs it in his business, but because he loves it.

To the average business man who does not care for Latin, Greek or Calculus, the old-fashioned classical course of thirty years ago had relatively little value, yet even four years of quiet comradery and intellectual zest were well worth taking before plunging into the struggle of life. Many a business man regrets that his college course was so narrow. I never heard of one who would give up even the little outlook on higher things this outworn course of study represents.

So much for what the man of business asks today of the university. What in turn can the American university of today do for him?

The American university, after its long struggle with poverty and tradition, is standing forth as a very

definite type of institution; very different from the English college from which it sprang; very different from the German university from which it draws its inspiration, yet partaking somewhat of the character of each.

It has now three principal functions:

1. That of general culture: to give a scholar's horizon some idea of the best that has been thought or done in the world's history; to give acquaintance with men and women of the present or of the past who have stood for noble ideals and hopeful aspiration. This line of effort constitutes the college work, when we use the word college in its traditional meaning, or in contrast with the university and the professional school.

2. Professional training: the actual drill in the knowledge needed in one's profession and the methods used in successful practice. This is the work of the professional school, to which the college course should lead.

3. University training. The highest form of university work is instruction through investigation. The student learns the methods of research through actual practice in the use of them. He learns the way to truth by an actual extension in some one direction of the bounds of human knowledge. The college does not pretend to include professional training or scientific research within the limits of its course of study. The university includes both. Here the proper line

between college and university is drawn. Yet the college should forecast the university. In four years we cannot compass very much, but in these years the college can give, besides the general culture which is its main work, the basis of professional training and the impulse toward research as well. To this end it should encourage the student to keep in mind his final career and to shape his work so that mental culture shall count as personal effectiveness. By means of thorough inductive study in some one line, it should introduce the student to methods of research. To teach subjects which are listlessly received and which are as soon as possible forgotten is a waste of time and effort. It is a degradation of the means and purpose of higher education. No one should be encouraged or allowed to stay in college for perfunctory work. To go through the motions without caring for the realities is an unwholesome kind of training. Neither should the college allow itself to be used by those to whom the college degree is a mere badge of social distinction. The idlers in college constitute a costly drag on its ambitions. The fees they pay are a scanty return for the mischief done by their presence. The university is false to its trust if it does not relate its work to life and if it spends its strength on the stupid, the indolent or the indifferent. There are too many real men in search of real education to justify tolerance of shams.

In the practical organization of an American uni-

versity I cannot see that the needs of business demand a separate branch or fundamental division. The course of study as it is, is perhaps broad enough, and it can easily be made broader without change of organization. We do not need a separate school of commerce to educate the business man any more than we need a separate school to train the journalist or the poet or the diplomatist. The culture studies necessary are already given. For special research in economics, finance and politics large provision is already made. It can be made larger when necessary. It is not so much the things studied in school as the way of looking at them which is important. The student needs most of all the ability to separate what is true from what is plausible, to distinguish induction from deduction. The university should not be too "timely" in its relations to the student. It deals with eternal verities and unchanging methods. It is safer for it not to be too "up-to-date." To meet each new call as it arises is to make a good many false steps.

The fact that station agents, railway conductors, bookkeepers and clerks are not usually college men has been lately taken as a serious argument against higher education. The simple fact is that the college student can do better than to accept such places. If he has the right stuff in him he is willing enough to begin at the bottom, but it must be the bottom of an ascending series. There must be some prospect ahead. You will find the graduate in mining in California

working for his board in the mines of Angel's Camp or Nevada City, but he knows that faithful service in the ditch will carry him at one bound past all his untrained competitors.

If to be a bookkeeper, salesman or floor-walker is final, the college man will not often enter the list. For such places an apprenticeship as a cashboy or a year in a business school may seem more useful than four years of Latin and Greek or even of history and science. It is worth more if you count not the man but his trade. The cashboy's experience might be as helpful to the floor-walker as an exhaustive knowledge of the whole business of the firm. It is when exceptional effort or exceptional responsibility is demanded that training shows itself. The exceptional man places himself in line for just such possibilities.

When certain business critics condemn the college course for its lack of fitness and practicability, we are obliged to ask what kind of college they have in mind. There is as much difference among American colleges as among American railroads or American dry goods stores.

If a foreigner objects to the American railway that it has no schedule and never gets anywhere, we wonder whether he refers to the New York Central or to some branch road in the black belt of the South. We wonder, moreover, whether he has ever traveled at home. So when the fitness of the American university is challenged we should like to know whether

the critic has Harvard in mind or Michigan, or perhaps "Valparaiso University," or the crossroads college at Hugginsville. Hartsville University, with two professors, precedes Harvard in our alphabetical lists, and Yellville stands next to Yale.

As a rule, the business man who does not believe in colleges has in mind some classical school of his boyhood where careless boys were drilled in unwilling Latin. As to this, we may as well admit the facts. For most practical purposes in life, either of culture or action, the Latin grammar, to the average man, is the poorest educational stuff the colleges yield. The predominance of Latin is a matter of tradition, not of experience. Latin, Greek and Calculus have constituted for centuries the Tripos or three-legged stool which bore up culture in the colleges of England. Latin formed the chief part of the college course of thirty years ago, and the business man of today who thinks university building an "absurd fad" has in mind the narrow work of the little colleges where he was a boy. In so far as their work was efficient their power lay in the influence of personality rather than in the subjects they taught. "A log with Mark Hopkins at one end of it and himself at the other" was Garfield's conception of a university. It was said of Dr. Nott, of Union College, that "he took the sweepings of other colleges and sent them back to society pure gold." This was the influence of a great personality, not of the Latin he taught, nor of his out-

worn metaphysics. With such narrow ideas of the college as a school of Latin exercises it is no wonder that many business men do not believe in it. They do not find such a school useful in their business nor in their lives. It is not very useful, in itself, except for the rare man, "the Greek-minded man, the Roman-minded," as Emerson calls him. I did not care for it, myself, when it was first offered to me more than thirty years ago. Then I turned aside from classical Yale to the new hope of Cornell, where I could study plants and rocks as well as Latin and Greek, and with equal opportunity and equal encouragement. The university of today recognizes the supreme majesty of Greek for those who can enter into its spirit. It recognizes the large helpfulness of Latin in literary matters. It gives far more attention to higher mathematics than the classical college did, but for another purpose. Its courses in engineering rest upon it. Its range of studies is now broadened and enriched so as to include whatever in any line the real student can demand for any real purpose.

The professions that the university has especially cherished have been those of law, medicine and theology. To these, in America, have been added engineering and teaching. For direct training in business little demand has been made, perhaps because the university gives already nearly all that can be asked except practical experience. This it cannot yield, though it can give better things. A very successful

mining engineer has lately maintained that the student in the university has no time to spend on "practical work" in mining methods. From the university he gains inductive science and deductive theory, both to be had from the university alone. He will have plenty of time later to get practical acquaintance with crushers and dumps. If he spends his precious university time on practical details he will not be ready when higher demands are made on him.

In business, as in mining, the university can save the student's time by giving him methods of work and methods of thought, which outweigh the value of laboratory practice in the counting-house or the sales-room.

It is very clear that the university-trained engineer has an immense advantage over his self-taught competitor. Not long since, I had an application from a mine in Siskiyou County, California, for a trained mining engineer. The writer went on to say, with much severe language, which I shall leave blank, that he had had enough of forty-niners—of practical mining men—of men who knew the business from the bottom. He had lost $6,000 in a month through their advice, and he wanted "some one who knew the business, not from the bottom up, but from the top downward."

The late Irving M. Scott, of the Union Iron Works of San Francisco, the builder of the "Oregon," had among his employees numerous graduates of Cornell and Stanford. He told me once that he

regarded a university man as worth 50 per cent more than a man who has come up to the same level by practical experience.

A certain Stanford mining engineer six years out of college now commands a salary greater than that of all the self-taught mining engineers in California put together. This is a very exceptional case, but there are many who approach it. I am told that of the Stanford electrical engineers there is not one who is not "getting a larger salary then he deserves." If this is true, it is because the engineers with whom they compete are less than adequate. In civil engineering the Western railroads give preference to college men. There is no prejudice against them such as exists sometimes in the East, because Western boys have more practical experience than Eastern boys. There have been breaks in their school life. Before going to college they have already had some contact with the inevitable and have learned patience, courage and common sense. They enter college later, but in the meantime they have learned to break horses and to keep account books and to be masters of themselves in any situation. If more necessity for self-help existed in our secondary schools we should turn out a wiser brand of college students. A little contact with the world is a great help in clearing the vision. The young man who sees things as they are will begin at the bottom with perfect cheerfulness. He knows the way to the top, where there is always room,

which can never be found by the artisan who operates by rule of thumb.

A large percentage of the college men of today, especially in our state universities, work their own way through college, and these may have a more accurate and varied knowledge of affairs than is possessed by half the heads of business houses. A few days ago such a man, lately graduated from Stanford, was chosen to an important clerkship in a large business house in San Francisco, being given precedence over 200 practical, experienced or business school competitors.

A recent writer asks, "Would you advise a young man with $5,000 capital, intending to become a business man, to spend that sum first on a college education?" Certainly not. Let him work in vacation and use only the interest of $5,000, and he will have both his education and his principal when he gets through. That some foolish parents spend a sum like this each year on an effeminate or luxurious boy, does not concern him. He can get a better education in the same college by his own unaided efforts. If our colleges insist that their students must get down to work or go home, we should hear less of lavish expenditure or of the complaint that colleges are for rich men only. It is the college where the students are poor that will some day have the rich alumni.

We know, of course, that business instincts are inborn, not created by education. Some college

graduates could never succeed in business, as others could not succeed in engineering or in music. In the lower grades of employment some will succeed, others will not. The effeminate college life now passing out of vogue in these strenuous times was poor training for any purpose. It is now receiving less and less tolerance. When the demand for something above the routine arises, the college graduate is always the picked man. This fact has shown itself in the volunteer army as in all other ranks of effort. Moreover, the young men of force and action today are in college. They cannot afford to do without a college course. Thirty years ago this was not the case. Except for social and athletic matters the classical college of that time offered few attractions.

What the university training has done for mechanical arts is clear, convincing, tremendous. It can do the same for business, if men of business care to ask its help. But to this end it must train men for business by means of men who can use the methods of science in the study of business. The university must take its duty in this regard more seriously. We must demand more serious preparation on the part of our professors who deal with topics of the time. I doubt if half the men who teach economics, finance or sociology in American colleges today know what scientific research actually means. In getting up a subject the methods of the journalist are quicker and easier to handle. Besides, plausibility looks as well as

truth. It makes a bigger book and has ten times the sale. Until the university frees itself from that form of cleverness which masquerades as science, whether conservative, sensational or emotional, it will not do its part toward the solution of our national problems. Smartness without training makes bricks without straw.

The whole nature of American business is changing these changing years. The successful business man cannot run his own little shop. He must be part of a large system. The new conditions demand a variety of talent, a range of adaptation, a breadth of vision, far beyond that of even ten or twenty years ago. It is the era of great projects, of great achievements, of great coöperation, and in this each must be ready to take the part assigned to him. Whatever we may think of the trust or combination, something of the sort is here to stay. Combination demands better training than individual shopkeeping. It demands a higher degree of honesty. A great business cannot rest on sharp practice. It must be above all the devices of the shopkeeper or the drummer. Its profit must lie in the dealer's legitimate percentage, not in the results of haggling or bargaining. The great fortunes of the future will be as great as in the past, but they must be won in a more systematic way. Courage and foresight must take the place of smartness and selfishness, and our universities will supply men of courage and foresight as this demand arises.

The business of today and of the future demands

a higher grade of intelligence and a more highly specialized ability than the individual commerce of a generation ago. It therefore demands higher training. It demands also a higher morality. No great business can rest permanently on a cutthroat basis. In spite of contrary appearances, business morality is on a higher plane in these days of vast combinations than it was when each merchant hunted, spider fashion, for his prey, and clerks were paid to make black seem white and to lead the unwilling customer to buy what he did not want. The profits of business are now the legitimate gain of handling rather than the fluctuating rewards of smartness.

In many ways our hope for relief from municipal corruption and executive imbecility rests with our young business men. Effective work for Civil Service Reform is done, not by societies of preachers, college professors, philanthropists or agitators, but by business men who find that business principles in public administration are necessary to their own business. In such organizations the college man of business makes himself felt. I know something of merchants' associations, East and West, and their far-seeing, practical, virile way of taking hold of things is full of hope for the future. In municipal reform we need first the growth of the spirit of decency, which will demand economy and dignity, and will be satisfied with nothing else. Little is gained by sensational, emotional spectacular reform. To dethrone a boss or send

a few bad councilmen to jail avails little if we stop there.

It is said that as Chicago has a great university every great city needs one for the purification of her public life. This may be true, but the influence of the university cannot be direct and immediate. Impassioned university extension lectures on civic reform are not worth the atmosphere they consume. To move the public and to entertain it are two different things, and the orator is likely to choose the line of least resistance. The work of the university professor is best accomplished on his own ground. He sways the next generation. and this vantage-ground he must give up if he works for immediate results. The university has a higher function than that of agitating for virtue. By dint of sound methods and endless patience it should send forth men who can act for virtue, not merely agitate. Its influence in politics is felt not in direct efforts in the primary, on the rostrum, or in the journals, but in its training of men.

Of all the business men of the world, those sent out from the American university are the most alert, the most enlightened, the keenest of mind and most effective in action. These are our captains of industry, and the young fellows who have worked their way from the streets to the counting-room as cash boys, errand boys and apprentices, must continue, a few bright individuals excepted, to plod along in the ranks.

A recent writer, Mr. R. T. Crane, shows to his

own satisfaction that a college graduate in business never gets his money back. To this he adds his own opinion that the money one gets is "seventy-five per cent of the whole thing." By "the whole thing," he means all joy and satisfaction, all happiness and success in the world.

It may be, after all, the mission of the university to give such a view of life and business that seventy-five per cent of "the whole thing" cannot be measured in money. If the possession of wealth is seventy-five per cent of the whole thing, what a world of enjoyment some of us college men have had to which we are not entitled! With "health and a day," we have "put the pomp of emperors to shame," never dreaming that the value of life was not expressed in terms of achievement and enjoyment.

VIII.

A BUSINESS MAN'S CONCEPTION OF THE UNIVERSITY.

ONE of the greatest of the joys we call academic is that of looking into the eyes of young men and young women with the feeling that some small part at least of their strength is the work of our own minds and hearts. Something of the teacher we see in the student, and, from master to pupil, there is a chain of heredity as real, if not as literally exact, as the bodily likeness that runs in the blood.

To the founder of a university a kindred satisfaction is given, and not for a day or a period only, but for "changing cycles of years." It is his part to exchange gold for abundance of life. It is his to work mightily in the affairs of men centuries after his personal opinions and influence are forgotten. The moral value of the possession of wealth lies in the use to which it is put. There can be no better use than that of making young men and young women wise and clean and strong.

Of this right use of money your lives and mine have been in large degree a product. This fact gives

me the theme of my discourse this morning, the work of Leland Stanford Junior University as it existed in the mind of the founder before teachers or students came to Palo Alto to make it real.

Our university is now just ten years old. Of all foundations in America it is the youngest save one, the University of Chicago. Yet as universities go, in our New World, it has attained its majority. It is old enough to have a character and to be judged by it.

For the broad principles of education all universities stand, but each one works out its function in its own fashion. It is this fashion, this turn of method, which sets off one from another, which gives each its individual character. What this character shall be no one force can determine. Its final course is a resultant of the initial impulse, the ideals it develops, and the resistance of its surroundings. No one influence can control the final outcome. No one will can determine the result, where a thousand other wills are also active. Nor is the environment finally potent. Environment is inert, except as the individual wills are pitted against it.

In our own university the initial impulse came from the heart and the brain of Leland Stanford. The ideals it has upheld were his before they were ours. They had been carefully wrought out in his mind before he called like-minded men to his service to carry them into action. It is well, once in a while, to recall this fact.

I need not repeat the story of Mr. Stanford's life. He was long the most conspicuous public man of

California. He was her war governor, wise and patient, and respected of all men before his railroad enterprises made him the wealthiest citizen of the state. His wide popularity, the influence, personal and political, which he acquired, did not arise from his wealth. Wealth, influence and popularity sprang alike from his personal qualities, his persistence, his integrity, his long-headedness and his simplicity, which kept him always in touch with the people.

"He was active," it was said, "when other men were idle; he was generous when others were grasping; he was lofty when other men were base." He was in all relations of life thoroughly a man, and of that type — simple, earnest, courageous, effective — which we like to call American.

The need to train his own son first turned his thoughts to educational matters. His early acquaintance with Professor Agassiz, perhaps the greatest of American teachers, helped to direct these thoughts into channels of wisdom. From Agassiz he derived a realizing sense of the possibilities of human knowledge and the impelling force of man's intellectual needs, — that hunger and thirst after truth which only the student knows. "Man's physical needs are slight," he said, "but his intellectual needs are bounded only by his capacity to conceive." In the darkness of bereavement the thought came to Mr. Stanford that the duty of his life should be to carry his plans of educating his own son into effect for the sons of others. After the long vigil

of a dreary night he awoke with these words on his lips: "The children of California shall be my children." And with characteristic energy he made this vision fact. Articles of endowment were drawn up, lands and buildings and teachers were provided, and on the first day of October, 1891, the new university opened its doors to the children of California, and to those of the rest of the world as well.

With all bright auspices of earth and sky, of hope and purpose, of wealth and generosity, the new university began. In its history all who are here today have taken some part. With many of us it represents the best portion of our lives. Of this I do not now wish to speak, but rather to discuss the original impulse of the founder. What was Leland Stanford's idea of a university, its work and life?

We learn, first, that he would leave the university free to grow with the coming ages. He would extend no dead hand from the grave to limit its activities or to control its movements. The deed of gift is in favor of education pure and simple. It has no hampering clause, and the only end in view is that of the help of humanity through the extension of knowledge. "We hope," he said, "that this institution will endure through long ages. Provisions regarding details of management, however wise they may be at present, might prove to be mischievous under conditions which may arise in the future."

As a practical man, accustomed to go to the heart

of things, Mr. Stanford had little respect for educational millinery, and for the conventionalities which have grown up about the great institutions of the Old World. He saw clearly the value of thoroughness, the need of freedom, the individuality of development, but cared little for the machinery by which these ends were achieved. So it was decreed that the new university should be simple in its organization, with only those details of structure which the needs of the times should develop within it. If it must have precedents and traditions, it must make its own. "I would have this institution," he said, "help to fit men and women for usefulness in this life, by increasing their individual power of production, and by making them good company for themselves and others."

A friend at Aix-les-Bains once argued with him that there is already too much education, and that to increase it further is simply to swell the volume of discontent. "I insisted," Mr. Stanford said, "that there cannot be too much education any more than too much health or intelligence. Do you happen to know any man who has been too well educated? Where does he live? What is his address? If you cannot find such a man, you cannot speak of over-education." There has been unwise education or misfit education. Some highly educated men are neither wise nor fit, and there is a kind of education that comes from experience and not from books. But with all this, too thorough or too good a training no one

ever had. Ignorance is shadow. Education is light. Nothing is more unpractical than darkness, nothing is more practical than sunshine.

Mr. Stanford believed that no educational system could be complete in which entrance to the university was a detached privilege of the chosen few. He believed in the unbroken ladder from the kindergarten to the university, a ladder that each one should be free to climb, as far as his ability or energy should permit. He believed, with Ian Maclaren, in keeping the path well trodden from the farmhouse to the university. He asked that this sentence be placed on the University Register: "A generous education is the birthright of every man and woman in America." In Emerson's words, "America means opportunity," and opportunity comes through training to receive it. To have such training is to be truly free born, and this is the birthright of each child of the Republic.

Science is knowledge tested and set in order, and each advance in knowledge carries with it a corresponding increment of power. A machine, to Mr. Stanford, was not a mere saver of labor, but an aid to labor, increasing its efficiency and therefore adding to the value of men. By greater knowledge of the forces of nature we acquire greater skill in turning these forces into man's service through the harness of machinery. In increase of scientific knowledge he found the secret of human power. An education which does not disclose the secret of power is unworthy of

the name. "We may always advance toward the infinite," was a favorite saying of his. He could find no limit to the development of civilization. The possibilities of human progress expressed to him the measure of infinite goodness. In his own words, "The beneficence of the Creator toward man on earth, and the possibilities of humanity, are one and the same."

But in his forecast of the myriad triumphs of applied science, he did not forget that knowledge itself must precede any use man can make of it. Pure science must always go before applied science. The higher forms of thought have their place in mental growth as necessities in the concrete preparation for action.

In the new university he decreed that "the work in applied sciences shall be carried on side by side with that in the pure sciences and the humanities, and that, so far as may be, all lines of work included in the plan of the university shall be equally fostered."

No other university has recognized so distinctly the absolute democracy of knowledge. The earlier traditions of Cornell pointed in this direction, and for this reason Mr. Stanford found in Cornell, rather than in Harvard, Yale, Johns Hopkins, or Michigan, the nearest existing approach to his own ideal. It was Ezra Cornell's hope "to found an institution where any person could find instruction in any study." Cornell and Stanford, in so far as they are loyal to these traditions, know neither favored students nor

favored studies. No class of men are chosen to the exclusion of others, and no class of studies is given a fallacious importance through force of academic pressure or through inertia of academic tradition. While various kinds of knowledge are of varying worth to different persons, each has its own value to the world, and the value to the individual must be determined in each case by itself. The university should be no respecter of persons. It is not called on to approve or condemn the various orders of genius that come to it for training. There has been no greater hindrance to educational progress than the hierarchy of studies, the fiction that certain kinds of work had an invisible value not to be measured by tangible results.

Mr. Stanford shared with Agassiz the idea that the essential part of education was a thorough knowledge of some one thing, so firmly held as to be effective for practical results. He believed in early choice of profession, in so far as early choice could be wise choice. The course of study, however broad and however long, should in all its parts look toward the final end of effective life. The profession chosen early gives a purpose and stimulus to all the intermediate courses of training. He saw clearly the need of individualism in education, and that courses of study should be built around the individual man as he is. The supposed needs of the average man as developed by a consensus of educational philosophers do not suffice for the actual man as he is in actual life

We must be fed with the food that is good for us. It is for us that it must be adapted, not for some average man in some average age. The ready-made curriculum belongs to the same category as ready-made clothing. It is something cheap and easy for the man without individual needs.

Mr. Stanford's belief that literature and engineering should be pursued side by side was shown by his wish to provide for both with equal generosity. And the students of each are the gainers by this relation. The devotee of classical culture is strengthened by his association with men to whom their college work is part of the serious duty of life. The student of engineering stands with both feet on the ground. His success in life depends on the exactness of his knowledge of machinery and of the basic principles of mechanics and mathematics. He must be in dead earnest if he would succeed at all. On the other hand, the student of realities gains by his association with the poet, the philosopher and the artist. The finer aspects of life are brought to his notice, and from this association results tolerance and breadth of sympathy.

That women should receive higher education as well as men was an axiom to Mr. Stanford. Co-education was taken for granted from the first, and the young women of Stanford have never had to question the friendliness of their welcome. "We have provided," Mr. Stanford says, "in the articles of endowment, that the education of the sexes shall be equal—

deeming it of special importance that those who are to be the mothers of a future generation shall be fitted to mold and direct the infantile mind at its most critical period."

The leading argument for co-education is akin to the one just indicated for the union in one institution of the various lines of literature, art, science and applied technology.

In women's education, as planned for women alone, the tendency is toward the study of beauty and order. Literature and language take precedence over science. Expression is valued more highly than action. In carrying this to an extreme, the necessary relation of thought to action becomes obscured. The scholarship developed tends to be ineffective, because it is not related to life. The educated woman is likely to master technique, rather than art; method, rather than substance. She may know a good deal, but be able to do nothing. Often her views of life must undergo painful changes before she can find her place in the world.

In schools for men alone, the reverse condition often obtains. The sense of reality obscures the elements of beauty and fitness. It is of great advantage to both men and women to meet on a plane of equality in education. Women are brought into contact with men who can do things—men in whom the sense of reality is strong, and who have definite views in life. This influence affects them for good. It turns

them away from sentimentalism. It is opposed to unwholesome forms of hysterical friendship. It gives tone to their religious thoughts and impulses. Above all, it tends to encourage action governed by ideals, as opposed to that resting on caprice. It gives them better standards of what is possible and impossible, when the responsibility for action is thrown upon them.

In like manner, the association with wise, sane and healthy women has its value for young men. This value has never been fully realized, even by the strongest advocates of co-education. It raises their ideal of womanhood, and the highest manhood must be associated with such an ideal.

It was the idea of the founders that each student should be taught the value of economy, — that lavish expenditures bring neither happiness nor success. "A student," it was said by one of the founders, "will be better fitted to battle with the trials and tribulations of life, if he (or she) has been taught the worth of money, the necessity of saving, and of overcoming a desire to imitate those who are better off in the world's goods. For, when he has learned how to save and how to control inordinate desires, he will be relatively rich. During the past three and a half years of close observation on my part, the importance of economy has impressed itself forcibly upon me, and I wish it to be taught to all students of the university. Nature has made the surroundings of the university beautiful, and the substantial character of the buildings gives

them an appearance of luxury. I wish this natural beauty and comparative luxury to impress upon the students the necessity of their preservation for the generations that are to follow. The lesson thus taught will remain with them through life and help them to teach the lesson to others. The university buildings and grounds are for their use while students, in trust for students to come."

The value of the study of political and social science as a remedy for defects of government was clearly seen by Mr. Stanford. "All governments," he said, "are governments by public opinion, and in the long run every people is as well governed as it deserves." Hence increase of knowledge brings about better government. For help in such matters the people have a right to look to their universities and university men. It was his theory that the art of government is still in its infancy. "Legislation has not, as a rule, been against the people, but it has failed to do all the good it might." "No greater blow can be struck at labor than that which renders its products insecure." In the extension of voluntary coöperation, he saw a remedy for many present ills, as he saw in the law of mutual help the essence of our Christian civilization. He said, in laying the corner-stone: "Out of these suggestions grows the consideration of the great advantages, especially to the laboring man, of coöperation, by which each individual has the benefit of the intellectual and physical forces

of his associates. It is by the intelligent application of these principles that there will be found the greatest lever to elevate the mass of humanity, and laws should be formed to protect and develop coöperative associations. . . . They will accomplish all that is sought to be secured by labor leagues, trades unions and other federations of workmen, and will be free from the objection of even impliedly attempting to take the unauthorized or wrongful control of the property, capital, or time of others."

One result of voluntary coöperation, in Mr. Stanford's view, would be the development of the spirit of loyalty, the most precious tribute of the laboring man in any grade, in any field, to the interest or cause which he serves. One great evil of the present era of gigantic industrial organizations is that it takes no account of the spirit of loyalty, without which no man can do his best work. The huge trust does away with the feeling of personal association. The equally huge trades union, in many of its operations, strikes directly at the personality of the individual workman. It makes him merely a pawn to be moved hither and thither in the current of industrial war. In the long run, no enterprise can flourish, unless those who carry it on throw themselves, heart and soul, into its service. On the other hand, no one can do a greater injury to the cause of labor than to take loyalty out of the category of working virtues. It is one of the traditional good traits of the healthy college man to be loyal to

his college. This virtue Mr. Stanford would have cultivated in all effective ways, and in loyalty on both sides he would find a practical solution of most of the labor troubles of today. That he carried his ideas into his own practice is shown by the unflinching devotion of all his own employees of whatever grade throughout his life. They were taught to believe in him, to believe in the worth of their own work, and thus to have respect for themselves. Much of the discontent of the day has its origin in lack of self-respect. The pawn that is moved in the game of sympathetic strike has no control over his own actions, and therefore no respect for his own motives. The development of intelligent, voluntary coöperation, in the long run, must make the workman more than a machine. If he is such, in the long run again, he will receive whatever he deserves. He will be a factor in civilization, which the unskilled, unthinking laborer is not.

The great economic waste in labor often engaged Mr. Stanford's attention, and he found its remedy in education. "Once," he said, "the great struggle of labor was to supply the necessities of life; now, but a small portion of our people are so engaged. Food, clothing and shelter are common in our country to every provident person, excepting, of course, in occasional accidental cases. The great demand for labor is to supply what may be termed intellectual wants, to which there is no limit, except that of intelligence to conceive. If all the relations and obligations of

man were properly understood, it would not be necessary for people to make a burden of labor. The great masses of the toilers now are compelled to perform such an amount of labor as makes life often wearisome. An intelligent system of education would correct this inequality. It would make the humblest laborer's work more valuable, it would increase both the demand and supply for skilled labor, and reduce the number of the non-producing class. It would dignify labor, and ultimately would go far to wipe out the mere distinctions of wealth and ancestry. It would achieve a bloodless revolution and establish a republic of industry, merit and learning.

"How near to that state we may be, or how far from it, we cannot now tell. It seems very far when we contemplate the great standing armies of Europe, where over five millions of men (or about one for every twelve adult males) are marching about with guns on their shoulders to preserve the peace of the nations, while hovering near them is an innumerable force of police to preserve the peace of individuals; but when we remember the possibilities of civilization and the power of education, we can foresee a time when these soldiers and policemen shall be changed to useful, producing citizens, engaged in lifting the burdens of the people instead of increasing them. And yet, extravagant as are the nations of Europe in standing armies and preparations for war, their extravagance in the waste of labor is still greater. Education, by

teaching the intelligent use of machinery, is the only remedy for such waste."

That the work of the university should be essentially specialized, fitting the individual for definite forms of higher usefulness, was an idea constantly present with Mr. Stanford. He had no interest in general education as an end in itself. He had no desire to fit men for the life of leisure, or for any life which did not involve a close adaptation of means to ends.

That the new university would in time attract great numbers of students, Mr. Stanford believed as a matter of course, although he found few California teachers who shared his optimism. But he was never deceived with the cheap test of numbers in estimating the value of institutions. He knew that a few hundred men well trained and under high influences would count for more than as many thousands, hurried in droves over a ready-made curriculum by young tutors, themselves scarcely out of college. So it was decreed that numbers for numbers' sake should never be a goal of Stanford University. And he further made the practical request that not one dollar directly or indirectly should be spent in advertising. The university has no goods for which it is anxious to find customers.

Mr. Stanford insisted as a vital principle that the university exists for the benefit of its students, present, past and future. It has no existence or function save as an instrument of education. To this principle all others should be subordinate. In his opening address,

Mr. Stanford said to the students of the Pioneer Class: "You are the most important factor in this university. It is for your benefit that it has been established."

The greatest need of the student is the teacher. Mr. Stanford said: "In order that the president may have the assistance of a competent staff of professors, we have provided that the best talent obtainable shall be procured and that liberal compensation shall always be offered." Again he said: "Ample endowment may have been provided, intelligent management may secure large income, students may present themselves in numbers, but in the end the faculty makes or mars the university."

Compared with the character of the faculty, every other element in the university is of relatively little importance. Great teachers make a university great. The great teacher must always leave a great mark on every youth with whom he comes in contact. The chief duty of the college president is the choice of teachers. If he has learned the art of surrounding himself with men who are clean, sane and scholarly, all other matters of university administration will take care of themselves. He cannot fail if he has good men around him. And in the choice of teachers the element of personal sanity seemed of first importance to Mr. Stanford—the ability to see things as they are. The university chair should be a center of clear seeing from which right acting should radiate.

That the university should be a center of coöperating research was a vital element in Mr. Stanford's plans. A man content with the truth that now is, and without ambition to venture into the unknown, should not hold the chair of a university professor. The incentive for research should be within, not without. Its motive should be not the desire of individual fame, but the love of knowledge.

In proportion to the extent to which it widens the range of human knowledge and of human power, in that degree does an institution deserve the name of university. The value of its original work is the best single test by which a university may be judged; and as it is the best, so is it also the severest.

In its public relations, the university stands for infinite patience, the calm testing of ideas and ideals. It conducts no propaganda, it controls no affairs of business or of public action. It is the judge of the principles of wisdom and the ways of nature. The details of action it must leave to men whose business it is to guide the currents of the moment.

When Leland Stanford Junior University was founded, it was provided that in its religious life, as in its scientific investigations, it should be wholly free from outside control. No religious sect or organization and no group of organizations should have dominion over it. The university should exist for its own sake, to carry out its own purposes, and to bring out its own results in its own way.

In this regard the die is cast, once for all. The choice of the founders of the university was deliberate and final. They chose the path of intellectual and religious freedom, in the very interest of religion itself. Religion is devotion in action. In its higher reaches it must be individual, because it is a function of the individual soul which must stand in perpetual protest against the religion that finds its end in forms and ceremonies and organizations.

Religion must form the axis of personal character, and its prime importance the university cannot ignore. To attain its culture it may use indirect rather than direct means, the influence of effort and character rather than the imposition of forms. To accept ecclesiastical help is to invite ecclesiastical control toward ecclesiastical ends. In the Grant of Endowment it was required that the trustees should "prohibit sectarian instruction, but have taught in the university the immortality of the soul, the existence of an all-wise and benevolent Creator, and obedience to his laws as the highest duty of man."

This requirement was a simple reflection of Mr. Stanford's own religious character, as expressed in the words of one very near to him: "If a firm belief in a beneficent Creator, a profound admiration for Jesus of Nazareth and his teachings, and the certainty of a personal life hereafter, constitute religion, then Leland Stanford was a religious man. The narrow walls of a creed could not confine him; therefore he

was not a professed member of any church, for in each confession of faith he found something to which he could not subscribe. But for the principles of religion he had a profound veneration; in his heart were the true sentiments of Christianity, and he often said that in his opinion the Golden Rule was the corner-stone of all true religion."

The founders believed truly that freedom of thought and action would promote morality and religion, that a deeper, fuller religious life would arise from the growth of the individual, that only where the "winds of freedom" blow will spring up the highest type of religious development. For character is formed from within by the efforts and strivings and aspirations of the individual. It can never be imposed from without. The will is made strong from choosing the right, not from having right action enforced upon it. The life of man is "made beautiful and sweet through self-devotion and through self-restraint." But this must be chosen voluntarily, else it fails of its purpose.

The growth of Leland Stanford Junior University must remain the best evidence of its founder's wisdom. He had the sagacity to recognize the value of higher education and the patriotism to give the rewards of a successful life to its advancement. He had the rarer wisdom to discriminate between the real and the temporary in university organization and management, and his provision is for the genuine and the permanent,

not for that "which speedily passes away." Still more rare, he had the forethought to leave to each succeeding generation the duty of adapting its details of administration and methods to the needs of the time.

If the founder we love and the founder whose memory we revere had said, "We will found a university so strong that it may endure for all the centuries, whose organization shall be so free and flexible that in each age it shall reflect the best spirit of the time," they could not have given it greater freedom of development than it has today. For the glory of the university must lie in its freedom, in that freedom which cannot fall into license, nor lose itself in waywardness,—that freedom which knows but one bond or control, the eternal truth of God.

IX.

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE COMMON MAN.*

IF YOU ever climb the hill above the Palace of Justice in the city of Brussels, you will find in a little house near the summit a strange gallery of pictures wrought by the artist, Wiertz. Among the nightmare products of his morbid genius there is one canvas which commands attention. It is "The Man of the Future and the Things of the Past." It represents a naturalist holding in his right hand a large magnifying-glass, while crowded in his left hand are Napoleon and his marshals with their cannon and battle flags and all the paraphernalia of the great campaigns. He examines these through the glass, while a child by his side looks on in open-eyed wonder, to see what a grown man can find to care for in such little things as these.

This allegory, painted within a dozen miles of the field of Waterloo and but a few years after the echoes of its cannon had ceased to reverberate, was meant to show how small the place Napoleon really filled in history. When the smoke of battle faded away, with it

* Address at the inauguration of Dr Edward Pierrepont Graves.

vanished the great empire of Napoleon. His conquests, his victories, his glory and his defeat were but side episodes in the march of events in the nineteenth century. Now as this century comes to its end, we find remaining in the social fabric of European civilization not a trace to show that the great warrior ever lived.

In all our study of history we find that the kings are slipping into the background. Once English history was divided into eras, each named for the king in power: the era of Edward I, of Edward III, of Henry V, of Elizabeth and the rest. Now English history is the story of the English people, and the birth or death of no king affects its continuity. Once in our schools we studied the record of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. Now we realize that nothing that had life in it could decline and fall. The decay of empires is but the breaking of the clods above the growth of man. Books have been written on the seven or eight "decisive battles" in the history of the world. Great battles there have been, but the stake in any battle is less than it appears. No struggle of force against force can ever be decisive. Not on the field of battle is the march of events determined. The growth of man goes on whether battles are lost or won. It is written in the nature of man never to be satisfied with wrong. A battle may decide the fate of a king or a dynasty, but not the fate of humanity. The spirit of freedom is in the heart of

man. Kings can never crush it. Priests cannot smother it. It is never buried in the dust of defeat. The growth of man goes on and on, and the development of individual manhood is all that is vital in human history.

Not long ago, Earl Roseberry, then Premier of England, said, "Royalty in England is no longer a political but a social function." In other words, the king no longer rules the body and the souls of men. He is but an adornment to society, a piece of historical bric-à-brac, which fills an ornamental niche about which old memories cluster, but which has no regard to present action. And this indeed is true. The good Victoria was not a very queen in flesh and blood as Mary was or Elizabeth. Her royalty was a beautiful social fiction. Her will dictated the cut of the ladies' dresses as they entered her parlors at Balmoral or Windsor. Nothing more. No longer life and fame hung on the queen's word; neither was the queen's will potent for peace or war. Over not one of her majesty's ships could her majesty use the voice of command. All that concerned the history of the Victorian Age lay as far from the touch of the good Empress of India as it lay from the Queen of Sheba. The Prince of Wales no longer stands in his black coat of armor, receiving the homage of the conquered hosts. In black Prince Albert coat, the soul of propriety, he may preside over agricultural fairs, and in questions of social precedence his voice is still potent.

Even as the kings, the day of the nations is passing. Man reaches his hand across the artificial boundaries of states. The great forces of human growth are everywhere at work, and the spirit of the times is no respecter of nations. That the nations make gross expenditures to pile up barriers along their frontiers, is but a sign that barriers crumble and are held up by force alone. The day of empire passes swiftly. Imperialism like feudalism is soon a thing of the past. Whatever its name or apparent form the real government of civilization is democracy. It is public opinion that rules the common judgment of the common man.

"God said, 'I am tired of kings;
I suffer them no more,
For to my ear each morning brings
The outrage of the poor.
Think you I made this ball
A field of havoc and war
Where tyrants small
Should harry the weak and poor?'"

And as the kings failed the sceptre of power fell from their hands. The church could not retain it. Through the centuries the priests had tried in vain to control the destinies of men by holding them in masses. But masses can never endure. By the movement of the ages they break up into men. And each man must seek his own salvation in fear and trembling even as he seeks his own food by the sweat of his brow. Even as the aristocracy of piety could not hold the

sceptre of power that the kings let fall, so could no other aristocracy keep it long. The chosen of the earth have dominion over themselves alone. They cannot permanently rule over you nor me. Not the caste of the wise, the learned, the strong of arm or the blue of blood can permanently endure. All that lasts is the man, the common man, and in his hands, in your hands, in my hands today is the sceptre of power, the sceptre kings and priests and lords could never hold. What shall we do with it?

For more than a century now the common man has ruled America. How has he used his opportunities? It is too soon to answer this question. A hundred years is a time too short for the test of such gigantic experiments. Here in America we have made history already—some of it glorious; some of it foolish; some of it wicked; much of it made up of the old stories told over again. We have learned that the social problems of Europe are not kept away from us by the quarantine of democracy. We find that the dead which the dead past cannot bury are thrown up on our shores. We find that weakness, misery and crime are still with us, and that wherever weakness is there is tyranny also. The essence of tyranny lies not in the strength of the strong, but in the weakness of the weak. Even in the free air of America there are still millions who are not free—millions who can never be free under any government or under any laws, so long as they remain what they are.

The remedy for oppression, then, is to bring in men who cannot be oppressed. This is the remedy our fathers sought; we shall find no other. The problem of life is not to make life easier, but to make men stronger, so that no problem shall be beyond their solution. It will be a sad day for the Republic when life is easy for ignorance, indolence and apathy. The social order of the present we cannot change much if we would. The real work of each generation is to mold the social order of the future. The grown-up men and women of today are, in a sense, past saving. The best work of the Republic is to save the children.

The one great duty of a free nation is education—education, wise, thorough, universal; the education, not of cramming, but of training; the education that no republic has ever given, and without which all republics must be in whole or in part failures. If this generation should leave as its legacy to the next the real education,—training in individual power and skill, breadth of outlook on the world and on life,—the problems of the next century would take care of themselves. There can be no industrial problem where each man is capable of solving his own individual problem for himself.

In this direction lies, I believe, the key to all industrial and social problems. Reforms in education are the greatest of all reforms. The ideal education must meet two demands: it must be personal, fitting a man

or woman for success in life; it must be broad, giving a man or woman such an outlook on the world that this success may be worthy. It should give to each man or woman that reserve strength without which no life can be successful, because no life can be free.

All education must be individual—fitted to individual needs. That which is not so is unworthy of the name. A misfit education is no education at all. Every man that lives has a right to some form of higher education. A generous education, as I have said more than once, should be the birthright of every son and daughter of this Republic.

To furnish the higher education that humanity needs, the college must be as broad as humanity. No spark of talent that man may possess should be outside its fostering care. To fit man into schemes of education has been the mistake of the past. To fit education to man is the work of the future.

The traditions of higher education in America had their origin in social conditions very different from ours. In the Golden Age of Greece, each free man stood on the backs of nine slaves. The freedom of the ten was the birthright of the one. To train the tenth man was the function of the early university. Only free men can be trained. A part of this training of the tenth in the early days was necessarily in the arts by which the nine were kept in subjection.

The universities of Paris and Oxford and Cambridge were founded to educate the lord and the

priest. And to these schools and their successors, as time went on, fell the duty of training the gentlemen and the clergy. Only in our day has it been recognized that the common man had part or lot in higher education. For now he has come into his own, and he demands that he, too, may be noble and gentle.

The old traditions are not sufficient for him. The narrow processes by which gentlemen were trained in mediæval Oxford are not adequate to the varied demands of the man of the twentieth century. He is more than a gentleman. Heir to all the ages he must be; and there are ages since, as there were ages before, the tasks set in these schools became stereotyped as culture. The need of wise choice has become a thousand-fold greater with the extension of human knowledge and human power. The need of choosing right is steadily growing more and more imperative. If the common man is to be his own high priest in these strenuous days, his strength must be as great, his consecration as intense as it was with those who were his rulers in ruder and less trying times. The osmosis of classes is still going on. By its silent force it has "pulled down the mighty from their seats, and has exalted them of low degree." Again, educate our rulers. We find that they need it. They have in the aggregate, not yet the brains, nor the conscience, nor the force of will that fits them for the task the fates have thrown upon them.

If the wisdom of the one is shared by the ten, it

must increase ten-fold in amount. If it does not, the Golden Age of modern civilization must pass away. Every moment we feel it slipping from our hands. Every moment we must strive for a fresh hold. "Eternal vigilance," it was said of old, "is the price of liberty." And this was what was meant. The perpetuation of free institutions rests with free men. The masses, the mobs of men, are never free. Hence the need of the hour is to break up the masses. They should be masses no longer, but individual men and women. The work of higher education is to put an end to the rule of the multitude, to turn the multitude into men.

The university of today must recognize the need of the individual student as the reason for its existence. If we are to make men and women out of boys and girls, it will be as individuals, not as classes. The best field of corn is that in which the individual stalks are most strong and most fruitful. Class legislation has always proved pernicious and ineffective, whether in a university or in a state. The strongest nation is that in which the individual man is most helpful and most independent. The best school is that which exists for the individual student. A university is not an aggregation of colleges, departments or classes. It is built up of young men and women. The student is its unit. The basal idea of higher education is, that each student should devote his time and strength to what is best for him; that no force of

tradition, no rule of restraint, no bait of a degree, should swerve any one from his best educational path.

"The way to educate a man," Professor Anderson has said, "is to set him to work; the best way to get him to work is to interest him; the best way to interest him is to vitalize his task by relating it to some form of reality."

Individualism in education is no discovery of our times. None of us have any patent on it. It was by no means invented at Palo Alto; neither was it born at Harvard nor in Michigan. The need of it is written in the heart of man. It had found recognition wherever the "care and culture" of man had been taken seriously.

A Japanese writer, Uchimura, says of education in old Japan: "We were not taught in classes then. The grouping of soul-bearing human beings into classes, as sheep upon Australian farms, was not known in our old schools. Our teachers believed, I think, instinctively, that man (*persona*) is unclassifiable; that he must be dealt with personally—*i. e.*, face to face, and soul to soul. So they schooled us one by one—each according to his idiosyncrasies, physical, mental and spiritual." Thus it was in old Japan. Thus should it be in new America. In such manner do the old ideas forever renew their youth, when these ideas are based not on tradition or convention, but in the nature of man.

The best care and culture of man is not that which

restrains his weakness, but that which gives play to his strength. We should work for the positive side of life. We should build up ideals of effort. To get rid of vice and folly is to let strength grow in their place.

The great danger in democracy is the seeming predominance of the weak. The strong and the true seem never to be in the majority. The politician who knows the signs of the times understands the ways of majorities. He knows well the weakness of the common man. Injustice, violence, fraud and corruption are all expressions of it, and on this weakness he plays. Hence the emptiness of party platforms, the silliness and immorality of partisan appeals.

The strength of the common man the leaders do not know. Ignorant, venal and vacillating, the common man is at his worst; but he is also earnest, intelligent and determined. To know him at his best, is the essence of real statesmanship. His power for good may be used as well as his power for evil. It was this trust of the common man that made the statesmanship of Abraham Lincoln. And under such a leader the common man ceased to be common.

Should the common man remain common? This some have thought, and they have fought the public school as though it were the advance guard of anarchy.

My own great-grandfather, John Elderkin Waldo, said in Tolland, Connecticut, a century ago, "that

there would never be good times in New England again until each farm laborer was willing to work all day for 'a sheep's head and pluck.'" That "the times of contentment" were gone, he thought "was due to the little red schoolhouses scattered over the hills teaching the doctrines of sedition and anarchy." But the movement of democracy has been just in the opposite direction from that which good Gaffer Waldo upheld. The laborers of Connecticut are the state of Connecticut today. Those at the bottom a century ago have risen highest and have demanded the most.

The movement of history, so far as man is concerned, according to Sir Henry Maine, has been always from status to contract. In ruder, coarser times a man's state in life is determined by what his father was. In civilization he is what he makes himself. In barbarism, feudalism, imperialism, as Napoleon once pointed out, woman has no rank at all. She is what father, lover, master or fate may choose to make her. In civilization she, too, has a soul, and her place, like that of man, is that which she may choose or accept.

The ideal of the state of contract is, that each man or woman, each unit of society or government, should be free to make the most of himself. "A child is better unborn than untaught." Or, in the words of Emerson, "the best political economy is the care and culture of men." Hence it is that the very essence of republicanism is popular education. There is no virtue in the acts of ignorant majorities, unless by dint

of repeated action the majority is no longer ignorant. The very work of ruling is in itself education. As Americans, we believe in government by the people. This is not that the people are the best of rulers, but because a growth in wisdom is sure to go with the increase of responsibility.

The voice of the people is not the voice of God; but if this voice be smothered, it becomes the voice of the demon. The red flag of the anarchist is woven where the people think in silence. In popular government, it has been said, ignorance has the same right to be represented as wisdom. This may be true, but the perpetuity of such government demands that this fact of representation should help to transform ignorance into wisdom. Majorities are generally wrong, but only through experience of their mistakes is the way opened to the permanent establishment of right. The justification of the experiment of universal suffrage is the formation of a training-school in civics, which, in the long run, will bring about good government.

Our fathers built for the future—a future even yet unrealized. America is not, has never been, the best governed of civilized nations. The iron-handed dictatorship of Germany is, in its way, a better government than our people have ever given us. That is, it follows a more definite and consistent policy. Its affairs of state are conducted with greater economy, greater intelligence and higher dignity than ours. It

is above the influence of the two arch-enemies of the American state—the corruptionist and the spoilsman. If this were all, we might welcome a Bismarck as our ruler, in place of our succession of weak-armed and short-lived presidents.

But this is not all. It is not true that the government "which is the best administered is the best." This is the maxim of tyranny. Good government may be a matter even of secondary importance. Our government by the people is for the people's growth. It is the great training-school in governmental methods, and in the progress which it insures lies the certain pledge of better government in the future. This pledge, I believe, enables us to look with confidence on the gravest of political problems, problems that other nations have never solved, and that can be faced by no statesmanship other than

> "The right divine of man,
> The millions trained to be free."

And in spite of all reaction and discouragement, every true American feels that this trust in the future is no idle boast.

But popular education has higher aims than those involved in intelligent citizenship. No country can be truly well governed in which any person is prevented either by interference or by neglect from making the most of himself. "Of all state treasures," says Andrew D. White, "the genius and talent of

citizens are the most precious. It is a duty of society to itself, a duty that it cannot throw off, to see that the stock of talent and genius in each generation may have a chance for development, that it may be added to the world's stock and aid in the world's work."

But the work of the free public school cannot stop with the rudiments of education. Else the common man would remain as common as ever. The open door of education must be more than a door. It must lead somewhere, and to something worth while.

I am not here to plead the value of higher education. The man who doubts it is beyond the reach of argument. The men who have made our country are the educated men, not its college graduates, for until within the last twenty-five years college men were not themselves abreast of our own progress. The country was made by men of broad views and high ideals, and these views and these ideals came from them to the common man.

I do not plead even for state support of higher education. That our people have taken for granted, however niggardly has been their provision for it. If the state makes no provision for higher education there is no other agency on which we can depend to supply it. Higher education by the state is the coming glory of democracy. The state university is the culmination of the state public school system. Without the head the system is itself ineffective. Each part of the system draws its strength and its inspiration

from the part that is higher. Lop off the upper branches of the tree, and the sap ceases to rise in its trunk. If the state fails to furnish the means of education, higher or lower, these means will never be adequately supplied. The people must combine to do this work, for in the long run no other agency can do it. Moreover, any other means of maintenance of the university sooner or later forms the entering wedge between the school and the people.

Dr. Angell has lately said that the history of Iowa is the history of her state university, the greatness of the state has come through the growth of the men the state has trained. What is true of Iowa is far more true of Dr. Angell's own state of Michigan. It is true of Washington, of Oregon, of California, of all the states, each in its degree.

In 1887 I spoke before the students of the University of Minnesota. Again, ten years later, I stood on the same platform. The change in these ten years seemed as the work of magic. A few hundred students housed in coarse barracks, with few teachers and scanty appliances in 1887; in 1897 a magnificent university, that would no wise stand in shame if brought in comparison with Oxford or Cambridge or the still broader and sounder universities of Germany. Beautiful buildings, trained professors, adequate appliances—all gathered together by the common people, all the work of the state, all part of the system of public schools, with upwards of two

thousand students actually there in person, the controlling percentage of the men and the women of college age, in the whole great state. In this university today is written the history of Minnesota for the next century. It is an inspiring history, a history of freedom, of self-reliance, of wisdom and of self-restraint. As I looked down into those bright young eyes I felt that I was gazing forward into the future of American democracy, that I had looked into the middle of the next century and I had found it good.

But more than one-third of these students were girls, and some one at my elbow said, "It looks like a girl's school"; so in fact it did. Then in thought, I looked forward to the day when these six hundred girls should, most of them, be centres of Minnesota homes,— homes of culture, homes of power, through whose noble influences the work of the university should be multiplied a hundred-fold. Then I blessed the wisdom of the fathers, I rejoiced in the fact that our state universities were schools for women as they are for men. Within the control of the state universities are the homes of the twentieth century, and from these homes of culture, purity and power will come the fortunate students of the fortunate colleges of the years to come.

James Bryce has said that of all institutions in America it is of the universities that we have most right to be proud. No other institution in America holds such promise of the future. The state univer-

sity is the glory of our democracy. This I can realize now that I stand outside its walls, with no part or lot in its successes, even better than in the past when with such force as I had, I did battle in its ranks.

Eighteen years ago it was my fortune to speak to the students in the University of Washington. These are not the same students before me now, not the same professors. Hardly the same university. Only the same green fir-forests, the same blue waters of the Sound, the same clear winding lakes, the same snow-capped Olympics, and Baker and Rainier, the same freedom, the same hope.

In the frontier settlement of Seattle, on a hill in the suburbs, stood the little territorial university. A single wooden building with one professor, our veteran friend, Mr. A. J. Anderson, or it may be two professors, and a few dozen ill-trained but eager students. That was all—only the germ of a university half forgotten among the bustling industries of the frontier.

It may be that it is only a germ today, but the foliage is expanding and there are signs of flowering buds. It has begun to gather power, to make history, and the history it has really made will appear in the coming century when the boys and the girls before me shall mold the social life and the political life of the great state of the Northwest.

We are here to mark one great step in the growth of the University of Washington, to set up a milestone in her pilgrimage.

Mistakes have been made in her past history. These need not concern us now, save to make us hope that each has taught its own lesson. Mistakes may be made in the future, but the ultimate result is sure. The university by the lake is the most valuable treasure your state will ever possess. As the state grows, so will the university grow. As the university stands among its sister schools, so will the state stand among its sister states. You cannot make Washington great while you leave her university to starve. One great mistake you have made—which I fear you can never right again. You have divided between Pullman and Seattle the strength that should never be divided. There is power in concentration, and you have wasted this power. You have weakened the force of higher education at the behest of local ambition, or it may be sectional jealousy.

The University of Washington exists for the good of its students. Through these it must justify its existence. For this reason it should spend its money and its strength on that only which makes for education. There is no need to worry about attendance. Students will come when their wants are met. They will come to a good college and come in numbers, though they have to walk a hundred miles to find it. It is the teachers who make the university. "Have a university in shanties, nay, in tents," said Cardinal Newman, "but have great teachers in it." There is no other requisite and there is no substitute. Build-

ings, libraries, departments, publications, names and numbers do not make a university. It is the men that teach. Once Emerson wrote to his daughter, "It matters little what your studies are, it all lies in who your teacher is."

The future of the University of Washington lies in who its teachers are. To choose its teachers is to write its future, and through the future of the university to write the future of the state. I know of no career more inspiring than that of the president of the university of one of the free, generous, growing communities we call the United States. In his hand is the magic wand of power, and to zealously and jealously guard this he must give the strength of his life.

To your newly chosen president let me say this: It is for you to give color and character and direction to the work of the University of Washington. The successful university, like the successful man, must have an individuality of its own. It must stand for something. Unless it has a definite character and purpose it does not rise above the level of a cheese factory. There are American universities in the vegetable stage, without will or soul, with limp-handed presidents and professors anxious only to retain their salaries. Such universities do not justify their existence. Good students shun them. Good teachers scorn them, and the good they do is half evil because they stand in the way of something better.

It is for you to see that the University of Wash-

ington is not of this character. It is for you to make it great—not alone in its buildings or endowment or the length of its roll of students. These are only incidents. A university is great only in the spirit that pervades it. What this spirit is depends on the men that make its faculty. To choose these men is your most sacred duty. This duty is yours and yours alone. If others take it from you, they are usurpers and it is your duty today and forever to resent usurpation. If you are fit for the position you hold then you are the fittest man in the state to choose the state's professors. No Board of Trustees should take this task from your hands; no honest board will try to do so, unless, indeed, through lack of confidence in you. If you cannot secure and hold the confidence of honest men, you should not hold your place. If you have to deal with men not honest, then go down, if fall you must, with colors flying. Never consent to a wrong appointment to make your own position easy.

This only have you a right to consider in choosing your coworkers. Do the best for the students you can with the money you are able to spend. No citizen in Washington has a claim on the university. There is no man who has earned the right to be appointed except by his own excellence in scholarship, his skill as a teacher and the loftiness of his character. Neither personal nor political influence; not the demands of churches, nor the claims of charity have you

any right to consider. No man fit for a professorship will ever try to work such claims. Men have said that the state universities lie at the mercy of politicians. If this be true it is because the doors are left in charge of rascals. If politics, using the word in the low sense, enter the University of Washington, Dr. Graves, let it be over your dead body. There are martyrs to the cause of education as well as to other causes. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. The martyrdom of President Tappan made the University of Michigan. The success of Michigan, the first state university worthy the name, gave a mighty inspiration to the whole system of public schools that will some day make America.

Every man who has a right to enter these halls as professor should be a man who knows. He should be a master of the work in hand, and above all he should be a growing man. A growing man invites growth; even mold will not grow on a fossil. The teacher should have "power enough to be productive." No second-hand man was ever a great teacher. No second-hand man, whether plodder or charlatan, should have place within these consecrated halls.

To secure worthy men your state must pay worthy salaries, salaries on which a young man can live and grow. There is no profession that demands so much, none that, on the average, is so poorly paid. This is because presidents and boards lack discrimination. They pay the dullard and the charlatan the same

salary they pay the scholar. The scholar will leave sooner or later for some place or work where he is better appreciated. The salaries you pay here can attract only young men or weak men. The young men of power will make reputations and go somewhere else. Those who will be permanently satisfied with fifteen hundred to two thousand a year are only the dregs of the profession. A growing man must travel, must have books, must be able to care for his family. Without these he cannot grow. His expenses must be large, his salary must be larger.

Doubtless the average professor is n't worth two thousand a year. Doubtless you could fill every chair here on five hundred. But that is not the point. The fact is, the average college professor is worth very little indeed. It is not average men but real men that make a university. Some real men you have and you know who they are. There is no excuse for you to employ any others. Average men and average teachers you can buy tied in bunches at any price you choose to offer; for real men you must look far and wide, for they are in constant demand.

With thoroughness of training must go sympathy and skill. The teacher must come near to the heart of his students. The greatest teacher is the one who never forgets that he was once a boy and who knows the aspirations, the limitations and the ambitions of the boys of today.

And with all this, more vital than all is the demand

for character. Without character,—devoted, rugged, strength of soul,—no man has a right to teach. Along this line every year the profession is winnowed of its chaff. Vacillating men, cynical men, perverse men, tricky men, visionary men, smart men, hypocritical men, beastly men, men who are slaves of habit, weakness or vice are cast out one by one from the profession into which they have drifted. Let such as these find no asylum with you.

The highest function of the university is the formation of character, the training of men and women, in purity and strength, in sweetness and light. The great teacher never fails to leave a great mark on every young man and young woman with whom he comes in contact.

And this mark of greatness in its last analysis is always a moral one. There is no real excellence in all this world that can be separated from right living.

'The earth," says Emerson, "is upheld by the veracity of good men. They make the world wholesome."

X.

THE WOMAN AND THE UNIVERSITY.

THE subject of the higher training of young women may resolve itself into three questions:

1. Shall a girl receive a college education?

2. Shall she receive the same kind of college education as a boy?

3. Shall she be educated in the same college?

As to the first question: It must depend on the character of the girl. Precisely so with the boy. What we should do with either depends on his or her possibilities. No parent should let either boy or girl enter life with any less preparation than the best he can give. It is true that many college graduates, boys and girls alike, do not amount to much after the schools have done all they can. It is true, also, that higher education is not a question alone of preparing great men for great things. It must prepare even little men for greater things than they would otherwise have found possible. And so it is with the education of women. The needs of the time are im-

perative. The highest product of social evolution is the growth of the civilized home, the home that only a wise, cultivated and high-minded woman can make. To furnish such women is one of the worthiest functions of higher education. No young women capable of becoming such should be condemned to anything lower. Even with those who are in appearance too dull or too vacillating to reach any high ideal of wisdom, this may be said—it does no harm to try. A few hundred dollars is not much to spend on an experiment of such moment. Four of the best years of one's life spent in the company of noble thoughts and high ideals cannot fail to leave their impress. To be wise, and at the same time womanly, is to wield a tremendous influence, which may be felt for good in the lives of generations to come. It is not forms of government by which men are made and unmade. It is the character and influence of their mothers and their wives. The higher education of women means more for the future than all conceivable legislative reforms. And its influence does not stop with the home. It means higher standards of manhood, greater thoroughness of training, and the coming of better men. Therefore let us educate our girls as well as our boys. A generous education should be the birthright of every daughter of the Republic as well as of every son.

It is hardly necessary among intelligent men and women to argue that a good woman is a better one for

having received a college education. Anything short of this is inadequate for the demands of modern life and modern culture. The college training should give some basis for critical judgment among the various lines of thought and effort which force themselves upon our attention. Untrained cleverness is said to be the most striking characteristic of the American woman. Trained cleverness, a very much more charming thing, is characteristic of the American college woman. And when cleverness stands in the right perspective, when it is so strengthened and organized that it becomes wisdom, then it is the most valuable dowry a bride can bring to her home.

Even if the four K's, "Kirche, Kinder, Kuchen and Kleider," are to occupy woman's life, as Emperor William would have us believe, the college education is not too serious a preparation for the profession of directing them. A wise son is one who has had a wise mother, and to give alertness, intelligence and wisdom is the chief function of a college education.

2. Shall we give our Girls the Same Education as our Boys?

Yes, and no. If we mean by the *same*, an equal degree of breadth and thoroughness, an equal fitness for high thinking and wise acting, yes, let it be the same. If we mean this: Shall we reach this end by exactly the *same* course of studies? then the answer must be, No. For the same course of study will not

yield the same results with different persons. The ordinary "college course" which has been handed down from generation to generation is purely conventional. It is a result of a series of compromises in trying to fit the traditional education of clergymen and gentlemen to the needs of a different social era. The old college course met the needs of nobody, and therefore was adapted to all alike. The great educational awakening of the last twenty years in America has lain in breaking the bonds of this old system. The essence of the new education is constructive individualism. Its purpose is to give to each young man that training which will make a man of *him*. Not the training which a century or two ago helped to civilize the mass of boys of that time, but that which will civilize this particular boy. The main reason why the college students of today are twenty times as many as twenty years ago is that the college training now given is valuable to twenty times as many men as could be reached or helped by the narrow courses of twenty years ago.

In the university of today the largest liberty of choice in study is given to the student. The professor advises, the student chooses, and the flexibility of the courses makes it possible for every form of talent to receive proper culture. Because the college of today helps ten times as many men as that of yesterday could hope to reach, it is ten times as valuable. This difference lies in the development of special lines

of work and in the growth of the elective system. The power of choice carries the duty of choosing rightly. The ability to choose has made a man out of the college boy, and has transferred college work from an alternation of tasks and play to its proper relation to the business of life. Meanwhile the old ideals have not risen in value. If our colleges were to go back to the cut-straw of mediævalism, to their work of twenty years ago, their professors would speak to empty benches. In those colleges which still cling to these traditions the benches are empty today, or filled with idlers.

I do not mean to condemn the study of the ancient classics and mathematics which made almost the whole of the older college course. These studies must always have their place, but no longer an exclusive place. The study of the language and literature of Greece still ranks with the noblest efforts of the human intelligence. For those who can master it, Greek gives a help not to be obtained in any other way. As Thoreau once observed, those who would speak of forgetting the Greek are those who never knew it. But without mastery there is no gain of strength. To compel all men and boys of whatever character or ability to study Greek is in itself a degradation of Greek, as it is a hardship to those forced to spend their strength where it is not effective. There are other forms of culture better fitted to other types of man, and the essential feature lies in the strength of mastery.

The best education for a young woman is surely not that which has proved unfit for the young man. She is an individual as well as he, and her work gains as much as his by relating it to her life. But an institution which meets the varied needs of varied men can also meet the varied needs of varied women. The intellectual needs of the two classes are not very different in may important respects. In so far as these are different the elective system gives full play for the expression of such differences. It is true that most men in college look forward to professional training and that very few women do so. But the college training is not in itself a part of any profession, and it is broad enough in its range of choice to point to men and women alike the way to any profession which may be chosen. Those who have to do with the higher education of women know that the severest demands can be met by them as well as by men. There is no demand for easy or "goody-goody" courses of study for women except as this demand has been encouraged by men. In this matter the supply has always preceded the demand.

There are, of course, certain average differences between men and women as students. Women have often greater sympathy or greater readiness of memory or apprehension, greater fondness for technique. In the languages and literature, often in mathematics and history, they are found to excel. They lack, on the whole, originality. They are not attracted by un-

solved problems, and in the inductive or "inexact" sciences they seldom take the lead. The "motor" side of their minds and natures is not strongly developed. They do not work for results as much as for the pleasure of study. In the traditional courses of study — traditional for men — they are often very successful. Not that these courses have a fitness for women, but that women are more docile and less critical as to the purposes of education. And to all these statements there are many exceptions. In this, however, those who have taught both men and women must agree; the training of women is just as serious and just as important as the training of men, and no training is adequate for either which falls short of the best.

3. Shall Women be taught in the Same Classes as Men?

This is partly a matter of taste or personal preference. It does no harm whatever to either men or women to meet those of the other sex in the same classrooms. But if they prefer not to do so, let them do otherwise. No harm is done in either case, nor has the matter more than secondary importance. Much has been said for and against the union in one institution of technical schools and schools of liberal arts. The technical quality is emphasized by its separation from general culture. But I believe that better men are made when the two are brought more closely together. The culture studies and their students gain

from the feeling of reality and utility cultivated by technical work. The technical students gain from association with men and influences of which the aggregate tendency is toward greater breadth of sympathy and a higher point of view.

A woman's college is more or less distinctly a technical school. In most cases, its purpose is distinctly stated to be such. It is a school of training for the profession of womanhood. It encourages womanliness of thought as more or less different from the plain thinking which is called manly. The brightest work in woman's colleges is often accompanied by a nervous strain, as though its doer were fearful of falling short of some outside standard. The best work of men is natural, is unconscious, the normal result of the contact of the mind with the problem in question.

In this direction, I think, lies the strongest argument for co-education. This argument is especially cogent in institutions in which the individuality of the student is recognized and respected. In such schools each man, by his relation to action and realities, becomes a teacher of women in these regards, as, in other ways, each cultivated woman is a teacher of men.

In woman's education, as planned for women alone, the tendency is toward the study of beauty and order. Literature and language take precedence over science. Expression is valued more highly than action. In carrying this to an extreme the necessary relation of thought to action becomes obscured. The

scholarship developed is not effective, because it is not related to success. The educated woman is likely to master technique, rather than art; method, rather than substance. She may know a good deal, but she can do nothing. Often her views of life must undergo painful changes before she can find her place in the world.

In schools for men alone, the reverse condition often obtains. The sense of reality obscures the elements of beauty and fitness. It is of great advantage to both men and women to meet on a plane of equality in education. Women are brought into contact with men who can do things — men in whom the sense of reality is strong, and who have definite views of life. This influence affects them for good. It turns them away from sentimentalism. It gives tone to their religious thoughts and impulses. Above all, it tends to encourage action as governed by ideals, as opposed to that resting on caprice. It gives them better standards of what is possible and impossible when the responsibility for action is thrown upon them.

In like manner, the association with wise, sane and healthy women has its value for young men. This value has never been fully realized, even by the strongest advocates of co-education. It raises their ideal of womanhood, and the highest manhood must be associated with such an ideal. This fact shows itself in many ways; but to point out its existence must suffice for the present paper.

At the present time the demand for the higher education of women is met in three different ways:

1. In separate colleges for women, with courses of study more or less parallel with those given in colleges for men. In some of these the teachers are all women, in some mostly men, and in others a more or less equal division obtains. In nearly all these institutions, those old traditions of education and discipline are more prevalent than in colleges for men, and nearly all retain some trace of religious or denominational control. In all, the *Zeitgeist* is producing more or less commotion, and the changes in their evolution are running parallel with those in colleges for men.

2. In annexes for women to colleges for men. In these, part of the instruction to the men is repeated for the women, though in different classes or rooms, and there is more or less opportunity to use the same libraries and museums. In some other institutions, the relations are closer, the privileges of study being similar, the difference being mainly in the rules of conduct by which the young women are hedged in, the young men making their own.

It seems to me that the annex system cannot be a permanent one. The annex student does not get the best of the institution, and the best is none too good for her. Sooner or later she will demand it, or go where the best is to be had. The best students will cease to go to the annex. The institution must then

admit women on equal terms, or not admit them at all. There is certainly no educational reason why a woman should prefer the annex of one institution when another equally good throws its doors wide open to her.

3. The third system is that of co-education. In this system young men and young women are admitted to the same classes, subjected to the same requirements, and governed by the same rules. This system is now fully established in the state institutions of the North and the West, and in most other colleges in the same region. Its effectiveness has long since passed beyond question among those familiar with its operation. Other things being equal, the young men are more earnest, better in manners and morals, and in all ways more civilized than under monastic conditions. The women do more work in a more natural way, with better perspective and with saner incentives than when isolated from the influence of the society of men. There is less of silliness and folly where a man is not a novelty. In co-educational institutions of high standards, frivolous conduct or scandals of any form are rarely known. The responsibility for decorum is thrown from the school to the woman, and the woman rises to the responsibility. Many professors have entered Western colleges with strong prejudices against co-education. These prejudices have not often endured the test of experience with men who have made an honest effort to form just opinions.

It is not true that the character of the college work has been in any way lowered by co-education. The reverse is decidedly the case. It is true that untimely zeal of one sort or another has filled the West with a host of so-called colleges. It is true that most of these are weak and doing poor work in poor ways. It is true that most of these are co-educational. It is also true that the great majority of their students are not of college grade at all. In such schools low standards rule, both as to scholarship and as to manners. The student fresh from the country, with no preparatory training, will bring the manners of his home. These are not always good manners, as manners are judged. But none of these defects is derived from co-education; nor are any of these conditions made worse by it.

Very lately it is urged against co-education that its social demands cause too much strain both on young men and young women. College men and college women, being mutually attractive, there are developed too many receptions, dances and other functions in which they enjoy each other's company. But this is a matter easily regulated. Furthermore, at the most the average young woman in college spends in social matters less than one-tenth the time she would spend at home. With the young man the whole matter represents the difference between high-class and low-class associates and associations. When college men stand in normal relation with college

women, meeting them in society as well as in the classroom, there is distinctly less of drunkenness, rowdyism and vice than obtains under other conditions. And no harm comes to the young woman through the good influence she exerts. To meet freely the best young men she will ever know, the wisest, cleanest and strongest, can surely do no harm to a young woman. Nor will the association with the brightest and sanest young women of the land work any harm to the young men. This we must always recognize. The best young men and the best young women, all things considered, are in our colleges. And this has been and will always be the case.

It is true that co-education is often attempted under very adverse conditions. Conditions are adverse when the little girls of preparatory schools and schools of music are mingled with the college students and given the same freedom. This is wrong, whatever the kind of discipline offered, lax or strict; the two classes need a different sort of treatment.

When young women have no residence devoted to their use, and are forced to rent parlors and garrets in private houses of an unsympathetic village, evil results sometimes arise. Not very often, to be sure, but still once in a while. These are not to be charged to co-education, but to the unfit conditions that make the pursuit of personal culture difficult or impossible. Women are more readily affected by surroundings than men are, and squalid, ill-regulated,

Bohemian conditions should not be part of their higher education.

Another condition very common and very undesirable is that in which young women live at home and traverse a city twice each day on railway or street cars to meet their recitations in some college. The greatest instrument of culture in a college is the "college atmosphere," the personal influence exerted by its professors and students. The college atmosphere develops feebly in the rush of a great city. The "spur-studenten" or railway-track students, as the Germans call them, the students who live far from the university, get very little of this atmosphere. The young woman who attends the university under these conditions contributes nothing to the university atmosphere, and therefore receives very little from it. She may attend her recitations and pass her examinations, but she is in all essential respects "in absentia," and so far as the best influences of the university are concerned, she is neither "co-educated" nor "educated." The "spur-student" system is bad enough for young men, virtually wasting half their time. With young women the condition of continuous railroading, attempted study on the trains, the necessary frowsiness of railway travel and the laxness of manners it cultivates, are all elements very undesirable in higher education. If young women enter the colleges, they should demand that suitable place be made for them. Failing to find this, they should look for it

somewhere else. Associations which develop vulgarity cannot be used for the promotion of culture either for men or for women. That the influence of cultured women on the whole is opposed to vulgarity is a powerful argument for education, and is the secret basis of much of the agitation against it.

With all this it is necessary for us to recognize actual facts. There is no question that a reaction has set in against co-education. The number of those who proclaim their unquestioning faith is relatively fewer than would have been the case ten years ago. This change in sentiment is not universal. It will be nowhere revolutionary. Young women will not be excluded from any institution where they are now welcomed, nor will the almost universal rule of co-education in state institutions be in any way reversed. The reaction shows itself in a little less civility of boys toward their sisters and the sisters of other boys; in a little more hedging on the part of the professors; in a little less pointing with pride on the part of college executive officials. There is nothing tangible in all this. Its existence may be denied or referred to ignorance or prejudice.

But such as it is, we may for a moment inquire into its causes. First as to those least worthy. Here we may place the dislike of the idle boy to have his failures witnessed by women who can do better. I have heard of such feelings, but I have no evidence that they play much actual part in the question at

issue. Inferior women do better work than inferior men because they are more docile and have much less to distract their minds. But there exists a strong feeling among rowdyish young men that the preference of women interferes with rowdyish practices. This interference is resented by them, and this resentment shows itself in the use of the offensive term "co-ed" and of more offensive words in vogue in more rowdyish places. I have not often heard the term "co-ed" used by gentlemen, at least without quotation marks. Where it is prevalent, it is a sign that true co-education — that is, education in terms of generous and welcome equality — does not exist. I have rarely found opposition to co-education on the part of really serious students. The majority are strongly in favor of it, but the minority in this as in many other cases make the most noise. The rise of a student movement against co-education almost always accompanies a general recrudescence of academic vulgarity.

A little more worthy of respect as well as a little more potent is the influence of the athletic spirit. In athletic matters, the young women give very little assistance. They cannot play on the teams, they cannot yell, and they are rarely generous with their money in helping those who can. A college of a thousand students, half women, counts for no more athletically than one of five hundred, all men. It is vainly imagined that colleges are ranked by their ath-

letic prowess, and that every woman admitted keeps out a man, and this man a potential punter or sprinter. There is not much truth in all of this, and if there were, it is of no consequence. College athletics is in its essence by-play, most worthy and valuable for many reasons, but nevertheless only an adjunct to the real work of the college, which is education. If a phase of education otherwise desirable interferes with athletics, so much the worse for athletics.

Of like grade is the feeling that men count for more than women, because they are more likely to be heard from in after-life. Therefore, their education is of more importance, and the presence of women impedes it.

A certain adverse influence comes from the fact that the oldest and wealthiest of our institutions are for men alone or for women alone. These send out a body of alumni who know nothing of co-education, and who judge it with the positiveness of ignorance. Most men filled with the time-honored traditions of Harvard and Yale, of which the most permeating is that of Harvard's and Yale's infallibility, are against co-education on general principles. Similar influences in favor of the separate education of women go out from the sister institutions of the East. The methods of the experimenting, irreverent, idol-breaking West find no favor in their eyes.

The only serious new argument against co-education is that derived from the fear of the adoption by

universities of woman's standards of art and science rather than those of man, the fear that amateurism would take the place of specialization in our higher education. Women take up higher education because they enjoy it; men because their careers depend upon it. Only men, broadly speaking, are capable of objective studies. Only men can learn to face fact without flinching, unswayed by feeling or preference. The reality with woman is the way in which the fact affects her. Original investigation, creative art, the "resolute facing of the world as it is"—all belong to man's world, not at all to that of the average woman. That women in college do as good work as the men is beyond question. In the university they do not, for this difference exists, the rare exceptions only proving the rule, that women excel in technique, men in actual achievement. If instruction through investigation is the real work of the real university, then in the real university the work of the most gifted women may be only by-play.

It has been feared that the admission of women to the university would vitiate the masculinity of its standards, that neatness of technique would replace boldness of conception, and delicacy of taste replace soundness of results.

It is claimed that the preponderance of high-school-educated women in ordinary society is showing some such effects in matters of current opinion. For example, it is claimed that the university extension

course is no longer of university nature. It is a lyceum course designed to please women who enjoy a little poetry, play and music, who read the novels of the day, dabble in theosophy, Christian science, or physic psychology, who cultivate their astral bodies and think there is something in palmistry, and are edified by a candy-coated ethics of self-realization. There is nothing ruggedly true, nothing masculine left in it. Current literature and history are affected by the same influences. Women pay clever actors to teach them — not Shakespeare or Goethe, but how one ought to feel on reading King Lear or Faust or Saul. If the women of society do not read a book it will scarcely pay to publish it. Science is popularized in the same fashion by ceasing to be science and becoming mere sentiment or pleasing information. This is shown by the number of books on how to study a bird, a flower, a tree, or a star, through an opera-glass, and without knowing anything about it. Such studies may be good for the feelings or even for the moral nature, but they have no elements of that "fanaticism for veracity," which is the highest attribute of the educated man.

These results of the education of many women and a few men, by which the half-educated woman becomes a controlling social factor, have been lately set in strong light by Dr. Münsterberg. But they are used by him, not as an argument against co-education, but for the purpose of urging the better education of

more men. They form likewise an argument for the better education of more women. The remedy for feminine dilettantism is found in more severe training. Current literature as shown in profitable editions reflects the taste of the leisure class. The women with leisure who read and discuss vapid books are not representative of woman's higher education. Most of them have never been educated at all. In any event this gives no argument against co-education. It is thorough training, not separate training, which is indicated as the need of the times. Where this training is taken is a secondary matter, though I believe, with the fulness of certainty that better results can be obtained, mental, moral and physical in co-education, than in any monastic form of instruction.

A final question: Does not co-education lead to marriage? Most certainly it does; and this fact cannot be and need not be denied. The wonder is rather that there are not more of such marriages. It is a constant surprise that so many college men turn from their college associates and marry some earlier or later acquaintance of inferior ability, inferior training and often inferior personal charm. The marriages which result from college association are not often premature—college men and college women marry later than other men and women—and it is certainly true that no better marriages can be made than those founded on common interests and intellectual friendships.

A college man who has known college women, as a rule, is not drawn to those of lower ideals and inferior training. His choice is likely to be led toward the best he has known. A college woman is not led by mere propinquity to accept the attentions of inferior men.

Where college men have chosen friends in all cases both men and women are thoroughly satisfied with the outcome of co-education. It is part of the legitimate function of higher education to prepare women, as well as men, for happy and successful lives.

An Eastern professor, lately visiting a Western state university, asked one of the seniors what he thought of the question of co-education.

"I beg your pardon," said the student, "what question do you mean?"

"Why, co-education," said the professor, "the education of women in colleges for men."

"Oh," said the student, "co-education is not a question here."

And he was right. Co-education is never a question where it has been fairly tried.

XI.

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE most important event in the history of modern Germany has been the foundation of the University of Berlin. The unification of the German empire was a matter of tremendous significance; the success of the German armies has widened the sphere of Teutonic influence; the recently adopted uniform code of laws marks the progress of national development; but more important as an epoch-making event has been the building of a great center of human wisdom in Germany's chief capital. The influence of the University of Berlin not only shows itself in Germany's preëminence in scientific investigation and the wide diffusion of liberal culture, but is felt in every branch of industrial effort. There is no trade or handiwork in Germany that has not been made more effective by the practical application of investigations made in the great university. There is no line of effort in which men have not become wiser through the influence of the noble minds brought together to form this institution.

Nor is the influence of this university and its noble sister institutions confined solely or even mainly within the boundaries of Germany. The great revival of learning in the United States, which has shown itself in the growth of universities, in the rise of the spirit of investigation, and in the realization of the value of truth, can be traced in large degree to Germanic influences. These influences have not come to us through German immigration, or the presence of German scholars among us, but through the experience of American scholars in Germany. If it be true, as Mr. James Bryce says, that "of all institutions in America," the universities "have the best promise for the future," we have Germany to thank for this. It is, however, no abstract Germany that we may thank, but a concrete fact. It is the existence in Germany of universities, strong, effective and free; and most notable among these is the youngest of their number, the University of Berlin.

This century has seen some epoch-making events in the history of our Republic. The war of the Union, the abolition of slavery,—one and the same in essence,—mark the same movement of the Republic from mediævalism to civilization. But the great deed of the century still remains undone. Ever since the time of Washington, our law-givers have contemplated building a university at the nation's capital. They have planned a university that shall be national and American, as the universities of Berlin and Leipzig

are national and German; a university that shall be the culmination of our public-school system, and that by its vivifying influence shall quicken the pulse of every part of that system. For more than a century, wise men have kept this project in mind. For more than a century, wise men have seen the pressing need of its accomplishment. For more than a century, however, the exigencies of politics or the indifference of political managers have caused postponement of its final consideration.

Meanwhile, about the national capital, by the very necessities of the case, the basal material of a great university has been already gathered. The National Museum and the Army Medical Museum far exceed all other similar collections in America in the amount and value of the material gathered for investigation. The Library of Congress is our greatest public library; and, in the nature of things, it will always remain so. The Geological Survey, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the biological divisions of the Department of Agriculture are constantly engaged in investigations of the highest order, conducted by men of university training, and possible to no other men. The United States Fish Commission is the source of a vast part of our knowledge of the sea and of sea life. Besides these there are many other bureaus and divisions in which scientific inquiry constitutes the daily routine. The work of these departments should be made useful, not only in its conclusions, but in its

methods. A university consists of investigators teaching. All that the national capital needs to make a great university of it, is that a body of real scholars should be maintained to train other men in the work now so worthily carried on. To do this would be to bring to America, in large degree, all that American scholars now seek in the University of Berlin. Students will come wherever opportunities for investigation are given. No standards of work can be made too high; for the severest standards attract rather than repel men who are worth educating.

It should not be necessary to bring arguments to show the need of a national university in the United States. A university, we may remember, is not a school for boys and girls, where the elements of a liberal education are taught to those who have yet to enter upon the serious work of life. A university is not a school maintained for the glory or the extension of any denominational body. In its very definition a university must be above and beyond all sectarianism. Truth is as broad as the universe; and no one can search for it between any artificial boundaries. As well ask for Presbyterian sunshine or a Baptist June as to speak of a denominational university.

It is said that in America we have already some four hundred colleges and universities, and that, therefore, we do not need any more. Quite true; we need no more like these. The splendid achievement and noble promise of our universities, to which Mr. Bryce

calls attention, is not due to their number. Many of them do not show this promise. If such were to close their doors tomorrow, education would be the gainer by it. Many of the four hundred, as we well know, are not universities in fact or in spirit. Most of the work done in the best of them is that of the German gymnasium or preparatory school. The worst of them would in Germany be closed by the police. But in a certain number of the strongest and freest the genuine university spirit is found in the highest degree. For more of these good ones there is a crying demand. Their very promise is a reason why we should do everything possible to make them better. A school can rise to be a university only when its teachers are university men; when they are men trained to face directly and effectively the problems of nature and of life. To give such training is the work of the university. In an educational system each grade looks to the one next higher for help and inspiration. The place at the head of our system is now held by the universities of a foreign land.

It is not the needs of the District of Columbia which are to be met by a university of the United States. The local needs are well supplied already. It is the need of the nation,—and not of the nation alone, but of the world. A great university in America would be a school for the study of civic freedom. A great university at the capital of the Republic would attract the free-minded of all the earth. It would draw

men of all lands to the study of democracy. It would tend to make the workings of democracy worthy of respectful study. The New World has its lessons as well as the Old; and its material for teaching these lessons should be made equally adequate. Mold and ruin are not necessary to a university; nor are traditions and precedents essential to its effectiveness. The greatest of Europe's universities is one of her very youngest. Much of the greatness of the University of Berlin is due to her escape from the dead hands of the past. It is in this release that the great promise of the American university lies. Oxford and Cambridge are still choked by the dust of their own traditions. Because this is so we may doubt whether England has today any universities at all, but merely imgenious and venerable substitutes.

The national university should not be an institution of general education, with its rules and regulations, college classes, good-fellowship, and football team. It should be the place for the training of investigators and of men of action. It should admit no student who is under age or who has not a definite purpose to accomplish. It has no time or strength to spend in laying the foundations for education. Its function lies not in the conduct of examinations, or the granting of academic degrees. It is not essential that it should give professional training of any kind, though that would be desirable. It should have the same relation to Harvard and Columbia and Johns

Hopkins that Berlin University now holds. It should fill, with noble adequacy, the place which the graduate departments of our real universities partially occupy. In doing so it would furnish a stimulus which would strengthen all similar work throughout the land.

Graduate work has yet to be taken seriously by American universities. Their teachers have carried on original research, if at all, in hours stolen from their daily tasks of plodding and prodding. The graduate student has been allowed to shift for himself; and he has been encouraged to select a university not for the training it offers, but because of some bonus in the form of scholarships. The "free lunch" inducement to investigation will never build up a university. Fellowships can never take the place of men or books or apparatus in developing the university spirit. Great libraries and adequate facilities for work are costly; and no American institution has yet gathered together such essentials for university work as already exist at Washington.

If a national university is a national need, it is the duty of the people to meet and satisfy it. No other power can do it. As well ask wealthy manufacturers or wealthy churches to endow and support our supreme court of law as to endow and support our supreme university. They cannot do it; they will not do it; and, as free men, we would not have them do it if they would. As to this, Mr. John W. Hoyt—a man who for years has nobly led in the effort to estab-

lish a national university — uses these strong words: "What should the nation undertake to accomplish? What the citizen has not done and cannot do, is our answer. The citizen may create a very worthy and quite important private institution, some of which may be named today, but no citizen, however great his fortune, and no single commonwealth, much less any sectarian organization or any combination of these, can create an institution that shall be so wholly free from bias of any and every sort; that shall complete our public educational system; that shall exert so nationalizing and harmonizing an influence upon all portions of our great country; that shall be always ready to meet the demands of the government for service in whatsoever field, and that shall at the same time secure to the United States an acknowledged ascendancy in the ever-widening field of intellectual activity."

A university bears the stamp of its origin. Whatever its origin, the university ennobles it. But a national university must spring from the people. It must be paid for by them; and it must have its final justification in the upbuilding of the nation. Whatever institutions the people need, the people must create and control. That this can be done wisely is no matter of theory. With all their mistakes and crudities, the state universities of this country constitute the most hopeful feature in our whole educational system. Doubtless the weakness and folly of the people have affected them injuriously from time to

time. This is not the point. We must think of the effect they have had in curing the people of weakness and folly. "The history of Iowa," says Dr. Angell, "is the history of her state university." The same thing is grandly and emphatically true of Dr. Angell's own state of Michigan. In its degree the history of every state is molded by its highest institution of learning.

As I have had occasion to say once before,—

"Many trials are made in popular government; many blunders are committed before any given piece of work falls into the hands of competent men. But mistakes are a source of education. Sooner or later the right man will be found and the right management of a public institution will justify itself. What is well done can never be wholly undone. In the long run, few institutions are less subject to partisan influence than a state university. When the foul grip of the spoilsman is once unloosed, it can never be restored. In the evil days which befell the politics of Virginia, when the fair name of the state was traded upon by spoilsmen of every party, of every degree, the one thing in the state never touched by them was the honor of the University of Virginia. And amid all the scandal and disorder which followed our civil war, what finger of evil has been laid on the Smithsonian Institution or the Military Academy at West Point? On that which is intended for no venal end, the people will tolerate no venal domination. In due time the management of every public institution will be abreast of the highest

popular opinion. Sooner or later the wise man leads; for his ability to lead is at once the test and proof of his wisdom."

Some of the half-hearted friends of the national university have been fearful lest partisan influence should control it. They fear lest it should become a prey to the evils which have disgraced our Civil Service; lest the shadow of the boss should darken the doors of the university with the paralyzing influence which it has exerted on the employees of the Custom House. I believe this to be a groundless fear. All plans for a national university provide for a non-partisan board of control. Its *ex officio* members are to be chosen from the ablest jurists and wisest men of science the country can claim. Such a board now controls the National Museum and the Smithsonian Institution; and no accusation of partisanship or favoritism has ever been brought against it.

A university could not be otherwise than free. Its faculty could respond only to the noblest influences. No man could receive an appointment of national prominence, in the face of glaring unfitness; and each man chosen to a position in a national faculty would feel the honor of his profession at stake in repelling all degrading influences. Even if occasionally an unwise appointment should be made, the action would correct itself. To a university, men and women go for individual help and training. A pretender in a university could not give such help. His presence is soon

detected by his fellows and by his students. The latter he could not harm, for he could not retain them. By the side of his fellows he could not maintain himself. No body of men is so resistant to coercion or contamination as a university faculty. A scholar is a free man. He has always been so. He will always remain so. The danger, that a body of men such as constitute the university faculty of Harvard or Yale or Columbia or Princeton or Chicago or Cornell would be contaminated by Washington politics, is sheer nonsense. Such an idea has no basis in experience. It is urged only for lack of better arguments. Such opposition to the national university as has yet appeared seems to rest on distrust of democracy itself or on concealed hatred of secular education. To one or the other of these influences can be traced nearly every assault yet made on any part of the system of popular education.

The fear that the university would be contaminated by political associations is therefore groundless. But what about the hope from such associations? An educated politician may become a statesman, and we may look for tremendous results for good from the presence of trained economists and historians and jurists at the national capital. It would in itself be an influence for good legislation and good administration greater than any that we know. As President Cleveland said at Princeton University on the occasion of its sesquicentennial celebration:

"The worth of educated men in purifying and steadying popular sentiment would be more useful if it were less spasmodic and occasional. . . . Our people readily listen to those who exhibit a real fellowship and friendly and habitual interest in all that concerns the common welfare. Such a condition of intimacy would not only improve the general political atmosphere, but would vastly increase the influence of our universities in their efforts to prevent popular delusions or correct them before they reach an acute or dangerous stage."

The scholars and investigators now maintained at Washington exert an influence far beyond that of their official position. If the Harvard faculty and its graduate students met on the Capitol hill, if their influence were in the departmental work, and their presence in social life, Washington would become a changed city. To the force of high training and academic self-devotion is to be traced the immense influence exerted in Washington by Joseph Henry, Spencer F. Baird, and Brown Goode. Of such men as these are universities made. When such men are systematically selected from our body of university professors and brought to Washington and allowed to surround themselves with like men of the next generation, we shall indeed have a national capital. By this means we shall create the best guarantee of the perpetuity of our Republic; that it shall not, like the republics of old, "go down in unreason, anarchy, and blood." In the long run,

the voters of a nation must be led by its wisest men. Their wisdom must become the wisdom of the many, else the nation will perish. A university is simply a contrivance for making wisdom effective by surrounding wise men with the conditions most favorable for rendering wisdom contagious. There is no instrument of political, social, or administrative reform to be compared with the influence of a national university.

XII.

COLLEGE SPIRIT.*

COLLEGE SPIRIT is the *esprit de corps* among college men, the feeling shared by all who have breathed the same college atmosphere. That each successful college must have a college atmosphere and that this atmosphere must find its expression in college spirit we are all agreed. We do not seem quite so sure as to the best form this spirit should take. Doubtless the atmosphere should be one of plain living and high thinking, with flashes of color from men of gifted personality; one of mutual help and mutual forbearance, with the struggles and rewards of after-life showing more or less clearly in perspective. Doubtless the college spirit should be one of comradery in worthy ambitions, of full-tempered jollity, with a strong undercurrent of something which is very like patriotism. Not "my college right or wrong," but "my college; when she is wrong, I will do everything to make her right. I believe in her. I glory in her good name. I wish her degree to be a mark of honor. I will sacrifice my convenience, my fun, my success even to save her good name from tarnish."

*Abstract of an address delivered in April, 1903, at the University of Missouri.

There is no better definition of the college spirit than that given in the old University of Greifeswald nearly 400 years ago. This was the phrase of Ulrich von Hutten, "Gemeingeist unter freien Geistern," "Comradeship among free spirits." "Free should the scholar be, free and brave;" for men whose minds are free should find harmony in action. The true college spirit is the working together of good men for good ends, for broad, fearless, helpful life, arising from sound impulses within.

We breed college spirit by the development of college men of the broad, large, helpful, hopeful type. To this end we must do away with the dread of "the rod behind the mirror." We must make college work not a succession of pointless tasks, but every part of it must be made real, vital,—a part of life, "striking the heart of the youth in flame." We must offer as rewards not cheap toys and prizes, but incentives which are natural and enduring. For him who works, large room for work should be opened. The idlers should be taken to the edge of the campus and quietly dropped off. The privileges of the college belong to those who can use them. Coworking comes from working. Without habits of industry there can be no sound college spirit. Vices divide men. Virtue brings them together. With idleness banished from the campus, most of the other vices of academic life would soon disappear.

In this matter false notions are prevalent. I have

heard college presidents, who have tried to promote industry, accused of "breaking up college spirit," as though idleness and trickery, in the topsy-turvy college world, had come to stand among the virtues. To make the college a place of serious work is to prepare the way for college spirit. It is clearing the ground for better crops. The true college spirit considers the good of the college, not the pleasure of the individual. To do one's level best for the college and for one's fellows, leaves no selfish residuum. It was a Princeton man who, when his leg was broken in the football field, rejoiced that it was not one of the first team that was hurt. This is a type of the Princeton spirit, and it rises from the football field to make its influence felt in other things. It is college spirit that leads the player to struggle like a bulldog in the game when a moment's weakening would mean defeat. It is college spirit of the same sort which leads the men to cheer the good play of their rivals. In little things as in big, it is the one who is most courteous to his rivals, most considerate among his equals, who will never let go when he ought to hold on.

There are other kinds of spirit abroad in college life and some of these the ignorant mistake for college spirit. I have heard of spirits of mischief, of spirits that dance by night, of spirits of rye, and spirits that arise from a beer cask. There are some who think that spirits of such sorts are all that a college can produce, and that college spirit at the best is but another

name for deviltry and dissipation. But the conviviality of the "beer-bust" or the champagne supper is but a spurious imitation of the good-fellowship of sane men.

After a great game of football in a large city, I passed, one evening, by the open door of a fashionable saloon. It was full of college boys, resplendent in the green and gray of their college, celebrating on unsteady legs their team's great victory. With faces as red as the sweaters of their opponents they were singing maudlin college songs, full of patriotic liquor. They thought themselves possessed of college spirit. But the passers-by did not look on the scene in that light. It was clear to them that certain college men mistook drunkenness for manliness, and after the fashion of passers-by, they threw the whole blame on the college. The students of a college fix its reputation, and it may take years of honest effort to outgrow a single drunken escapade.

I once heard a graduate of the Boston Institute of Technology make this plea to a body of students of another institution: "Never carry your colors into a saloon. If you must disgrace yourself, do it in the name of some one else. When we visited a saloon in Boston," he said, "we always gave the Harvard yell." You may not care for your own disgrace, but do not make your college party to it. If you must visit saloons to express your feelings, do not take your college with you. If you must scream, give the

other fellow's yell. Perhaps if you do this, some other fellow may whip the breath out of you. Be a martyr if it must be, but die rather than disgrace your college.

To form a college atmosphere, there should be free intercourse among students. The professional schools of a university may be in a great city, but a college should be in a town so small that college interests overshadow all others. The college spirit burns dimly in a great city. A small town and a large campus represent the ideal condition, with a great city not too far away. Higher education mostly begins when a boy goes away from home. You cannot get it on the street cars. In the German universities they recognize two classes of university men, real students and "spur-studenten," or railway-track students, those who live at home and come and go without becoming an actual part of the university. In a great city all students are likely to be "spur-studenten." Unless men can get together, college spirit and college atmosphere are well nigh impossible. The unrest in regard to the four years' college course in our great urban universities stands in evidence of this fact. The men want to get into professional work, because the college course lacks its best element, the force of comradeship.

If our college faculties had the academic courage and academic patriotism which our people have the right to demand of them, most of the evils of college life would speedily disappear. The worst training a

young man can have is that of physical and intellectual idleness. Free education should be reserved for those who have the mind and the will to receive it. There is no education without effort. Those who do not want an education have no place in college. A firm insistence on the demands of scholarship would do away with rowdies and rowdyism.

It is not often the real scholar that leads in rushing and hazing. The class rush is a product of sheer rowdyism. It is the work of the college bullies. It is dangerous because it has no time limit, no rules, no training. When a man is hurt in its rough-and-tumble activity, the blame falls and rightly so on the college.

Of the same nature is hazing, with this difference that hazing is essentially the coward's part. It is half a dozen against one, and always involves infringement of the rights and the liberties of free men. Such affairs are not indications of college spirit. They are not, like amateur athletics, in aid of the good name of the college. It does not enhance the reputation of one of our great state universities that the papers are full of the hair-cutting scrapes of her freshmen and sophomores. It adds nothing to the glory of another institution of honored name that her sophomores break up the freshman dance by throwing skunks into the ballroom. It is against the good name of any college that sophomore bullies carry away freshman class presidents or lock up the escorts of ladies at a junior

ball. It is not to the credit of any institution that bogus programs and anonymous insults, inane or obscene, are circulated on its campus. Stealing ice-cream is very much like ordinary stealing, and rowdyism in all its forms makes the development of honest college spirit hopeless. Comradeship among free spirits,—what decent man cares to be the comrade of a bully?

It is a weakness of our state universities that their students sometimes mistake rowdyism for spirit and brutality for democracy. These institutions are thoroughly democratic, that is a matter of course, but we must not forget that democracy is not inconsistent with courtesy. Other things being equal, the better the manners, the better the man. The same spirit that leads to rowdyism in a state institution reappears as imbecility in some other kinds of colleges. There is little choice between the two. It is lack of inventive power that leads the midnight student to take the president's carriage to pieces, to put his cow into the bell-tower or to stack up the gates of the town in his back yard. It is imbecility that leads college men to assert their own independence by discourtesy to college women. It is imbecility that causes college boys to take up one after another a series of unpleasant fads, the fad of swiping signs, of stealing spoons, of running away with some one's bric-à-brac.

Another peculiarly disagreeable fad, caught from the street gamin, is seen or heard at some of our ath-

letic games. The mob at a ball game tries to rattle the pitcher, to confuse the catcher, or to so crowd about that an opposing team has not only the local team to meet, but the whole student body as well. It is not genuine college spirit that has turned many a football game in the Middle West into something very much like a riot. The institution that permits this sort of thing consents to its own disgrace. It is upon the apathy of college faculties that the blame must finally rest. It is for such performances as these that aristocratic Harvard has invented the term of "mucker." Whatever else Harvard may be, she is "anti-mucker" through and through. The movement toward athletic courtesy perhaps had its origin in Harvard, and I hope for the spread of its influence. When a Yale batter strikes a foul and returns to his base, he finds the Harvard catcher handing him his bat. That a man may play a strenuous game, the fiercest ever seen on the gridiron, and yet keep the speech and the manners of a gentleman, is one of the lessons Harvard may teach us, and we of the West cannot listen to any better lesson in college spirit.

Our student bodies as well as our college faculties have been too tolerant of petty trickery. This is shown in student elections, which would often give points to the most corrupt of city governments. The man of college spirit will vote for the best representative of the college. The vulgar college politician sees only the chance of combination. Many men will even

prostitute their fraternity relations by making that association a mere means of political influence. President White used to call "college politics a pewter imitation of a pinchbeck original." I have never known a successful politician of the "win at any cost" sort who became a useful man in after-life. I have known some who have risen in politics—risen for a while until they have been found out. As grown men they have disgraced the state, just as, when boys, they brought their college into ill-repute. Cheating in examinations is of a piece with cheating in politics. A sound college spirit finds no place for such things.

The same evil spirit which at times controls student elections often works havoc with the usefulness of athletics. I believe thoroughly in college athletics. I have taken my part in them in college and out, and I know that other things being equal, the athletic man is worth more to the community than other kinds of men. But other things may not be equal. The athletic tramp should receive no academic welcome. The athletic parasite is no better than any other parasite. The man who is in college for athletics alone, disgraces the college, degrades athletics and shuts out a better man from his place on the team. In tolerating the presence of athletes who do not study, the college faculty becomes party to a fraud. Some of our greatest institutions stand disgraced in the eyes of the college world, by reason of the methods employed to win football victories.

At the best, athletics is a by-play in the business of education, most useful in their place, but most damaging if it breaks down academic standards. To relieve football men from all necessity of scholarship during the football period is to strike a blow at the dignity and honesty of the college. More than one institution is doing this at the present time. The college that does its duty to its students is the one in which the football tramp, the professional athlete, finds no place. Nothing I have seen in the University of Missouri has pleased me more than the firm stand it has taken for decency in athletics, and that too when the traditions of fraud, the impulse to win at any cost, were at their very strongest.

On the girls as well as on the boys falls the duty of maintaining college spirit. To create the sense of manly dignity is largely woman's work. To be drawn into college combinations and voted like lambs at the will of some shrewd manipulator has been too often women's experience in college politics. Young women, think for yourselves. Don't ask the politicians how the candidates stand. You can get better information from the registrar. Don't behave as if you needed a guardian. Don't carry your social affairs into the recitation rooms. Let society have its place and time, but do not mix its demands with those of study. If there are too many balls in college society and they last too long, have the courage to refuse to go, the courage to refuse to stay after it is

time for sleep. If dances run on without time limit, as they do in some places, it is your duty to make your own limit, before the faculty awakes to its responsibility and lays down your duty for you. Do not be put into false positions. Young men value young women more when their society is not to be had too easily. I heard the other day these words uttered by a student, and they were words of wisdom: "When a girl's name is bandied about the campus, it is a hard proposition for her to live it down."

The future of co-education rests with the young women and with them alone. If they are worthy of their opportunity, as the vast majority are, the caviling of provincial ignorance will not harm them. The reputation of the college is made by its students, women as well as men, and on the women rests a large responsibility for the growth of a healthy college spirit.

The process of "knocking" is opposed to the growth of college spirit. There is no use in complaining for complaint's sake. If you don't like things as they are, turn in and make them better, or go somewhere else. If the habit of faultfinding is deep-seated, learn your college song. Practice at nights upon your college yell. It will do you good. There is a great moral lesson in learning to shout in unison. To "root" in perfect time at the call of the yell-leader is a college education in itself. To keep in touch with men is the best antidote for cynicism.

Snobbishness is opposed to college spirit. It is not a fault of the West, where few students are reared on Mellin's food and finished on champagne. We have few young men who tread on velvet and take a college course by proxy. The Harvard man who keeps a groom for his horse, a groom for himself, and a groom for each of his studies, has few imitators in the West. In the strenuous, rugged West, there is little room for the "Laodicean club," the association of those who are neither hot nor cold, but altogether luke-warm.

But if we lack the perfect aristocrat, we have in the West our own cliques and divisions. The fraternity system at its best is an aid to scholarship, to manners and to character; at its worst, it is a basis for vulgar dissension. The influence of a fraternity depends on the men who are in it. If these are above the average in character and work, it is lucky for the average man to be chosen into it. If they are below the average in this regard, the average man loses by joining his fortunes with it. When fraternities are sources of disorganization, there is something wrong in them or in the institution.

The evil of dissipation exists in college as outside of it. The average boy, or rather the boy a little below the average, believes that some degree of manliness inheres in getting drunk. Bismarck is reputed to have said that in the universities of Germany "one-third the students work themselves to death, one-third

drink themselves to death, and the other third govern Europe." Something like this takes place in America, though the percentage of those who die of drink is less and the percentage of those who die of hard work is still lower. But too many of our college students have wrecked their lives even before they have realized the strength and the duties of manhood.

The finest piece of mechanism in all the universe is the brain of man. In this complex structure, with its millions of connecting cells, we can form images of the world about us, correct so far as they go. To retain these images, to compare them, to infer relations of cause and effect and to transfer thought into action is man's privilege. In proportion to the exactness of these operations is the soundness, the value of the man. The wise man protects his brain, and the mind, which is its manipulator, from all that would do harm. Vice is our name for self-inflicted injury, and every stimulant or narcotic—every drug that leaves its mark of weakness on the brain, is the beginning of vice. Vice means brain decay. "Death is a thing cleaner than vice," and in the long run it is more profitable. False ideas of manliness, false conceptions of good-fellowship, wreck many a young man of otherwise good intentions. The sinner is the man who cannot say *no*.

The young man's first duty is toward his after-self. So live that your after-self, the man you ought to be, may be possible and actual. Far away in the

twenties, the thirties of our century, he is awaiting his time. His body, his brain, his soul are in your boyish hands today. He cannot help himself. Will you hand over to him a brain unspoiled by lust or dissipation, a mind trained to think and act, a nervous system true as a dial in its response to environment? Will you, college boy of the twentieth century, let him come in his time as a man among men? Or will you throw away his patrimony? Will you turn over to him a brain distorted, a mind diseased, a will untrained to action, a spinal cord grown through and through with the vile harvest we call "wild oats"? Will you let him come, taking your place, gaining through your experiences, your joys, building on them as his own? Or will you wantonly fling it all away, careless that the man you might have been shall never be?

In all our colleges we are taught that the athlete must not break training rules. The pitcher who smokes a cigarette gives away the game. The punter who dances loses the goal, the sprinter who takes a convivial glass of beer breaks no record. His record breaks him. Some day we shall realize that the game of life is more strenuous than the game of football, more intricate than pitching curves, more difficult than punting. We should keep in trim for it. We must remember training rules. The rules that win the football game are good also for success in business. Half the strength of young America is wasted in the

dissipation of drinking or smoking. If we keep the training rules of life in literal honesty, we shall win a host of prizes that otherwise we should lose. Final success goes to the few, the very few, alas, who throughout life keep mind and soul and body clean.

"Gemeingeist unter freien Geistern," the "comradeship of free souls,"—this is the meaning of true college spirit. Freedom of the soul means freedom of the mind, freedom of the brain. It is said in the litany that His "service is perfect freedom." Ignorance holds men in bondage; so do selfishness, stupidity and vice. The service of God and of man is found in casting off these things. In freedom we find abundance of life. The scholar should be a man in the full life of the world. "The color of life is red," and the scholar of today is no longer a dim-eyed monk with a grammarian's cough. He is a worker in the rush of the century—a lover of nature and an artist in building the lives of men.

XIII.

POLITICS IN THE SCHOOLS.

THE conspicuous failure of democracy in the United States has been in its inability to conduct local business on business principles. In the government of Great Britain just the reverse has been true. In the management of local and municipal matters the people of England have been most signally successful. It is in this part of the British government that government by the people and for the people has had fullest play. Without going into details as to the failure of county and of city government in America, we may accept a classification of the causes of such failure as lately given by Dr. Walter F. Willcox of Cornell.

"There are," says Dr. Willcox, "three fundamental evils in the government of our cities. The first is economic and consists in the waste of public funds. The second is political in the true sense and consists in the inadequacy of municipal service. The third is moral and consists in the corruption of civic authority for the furtherance of individual ends. The chief importance of this third evil is that it throws politics into disrepute and degrades civic ideals, thus rendering coöperation for the attainment of truly political ends well nigh impossible."

To this analysis of sources of evil, which exist in all countries and under all forms of government, we may add three others, which are more or less peculiar to America and scarcely less baneful in their influence. These are, the influence of private control of public functions, the federal organization of the city, and the lack of serious interest on the part of our people. As to the first of these, the use of public franchises by individuals and corporations and their corrupt control of the officers of city and state are already the basis of a vast amount of discussion. Its natural remedy is the public performance of public functions, a system which has also its dangers and difficulties, which it is not my purpose now to consider.

In the next place, we have been misled by false analogies in forming our municipal charters. We treat our cities as if each was a confederation of wards and precincts in the same way that the United States is a confederation of self-ruling communities. This is not true in fact and therefore works badly in practice. The city is not a confederation of wards. It is an association of men, and it is citizens and not wards that should be represented in its councils. The principle of proportional representation is therefore essential to its government by the people. Let the citizens choose as their representatives those men who represent them best regardless of all questions of what street they live on or in what quarter they do their business. The municipality exists for the mutual bene-

fit and the mutual protection of its citizens. It is not a creation of the separate wards and precincts into which, for purposes of voting, the town may be divided. To the persistence of the ward system, to the use of the machinery of the federal United States where federation does not exist, the failure of our city charters is in great part due.

A further source of inefficiency in local government lies in the fact that we have never yet taken it seriously. As a people we have a fine sense of humor and it is exercised impartially in all directions. A piece of gross corruption or inefficiency serves as the point of a joke. It ends with a newspaper cartoon. And as a cartoon may be as unjust as any other form of criticism, it fails to be taken in evidence by the people. An administrative blunder or crime has no adequate punishment. We never know the real facts in the case and in the hopelessly good nature of the American people, whether it has taken place or not, it is equally and speedily forgiven. From this lack of seriousness as to local matters which we can control, coupled with our universal interest in national affairs on which even a whole state exerts but a trifling influence, arises the subordination of local issues to those which divide our two great political parties. This subordination of local to national affairs is a great source of weakness and corruption. The plea that bad men must be chosen at home for the sake of the party at large is heard at every election and it is

always false and degrading. It is said that the only "straight ticket" a good citizen has the right to vote is the "one with the crooked names scratched off it." If this rule were followed by all that think themselves good citizens, the record of city government would be very different from what it is now.

But my purpose at this time is not to consider the general failure of city administration but its particular failure in the matter of public schools. Thus far most of our cities have failed to give the people the school system which they pay for, the one which they deserve, and which is essential to the best development of their children.

This failure falls under the second of Dr. Willcox's classes: "The inadequacy of municipal service." But the cause of the failure lies mostly with the third class of evils: "The corruption of civic authority for the furtherance of individual ends." In other words, the school service in most of our cities is very bad and it is bad because the schools are tampered with and used as tools to enrich or advance those persons who have them in charge. This is what is meant by the common phrase: "Our schools are poor because they are in politics."

The necessity of schools is unquestioned and our people from the first have met this need by coöperative action. This results in free public schools, open to all, and under the domination of no religious sect and no political party. With some minor differences

of opinion, our people are all practically agreed on this. Our schools from the kindergarten to the university must be free, public, and uncontrolled by sect or party. On no other principle of government is there such perfect harmony. Because we make our schools public and free their administration becomes an affair of government. Our government is always just as good as the people demand and never any better. It must be the same with our schools. When general politics are corrupt good public schools are impossible.

Three elements are necessary in the administration of public schools. First, the presence of a board of control, representing the people, attending to the finances of the school and giving to the promotion of its interests a degree of time and attention which the body of the people could not give. This we call the Board of Trustees. Second, an educational expert who shall know schools on the one hand, and teachers on the other, who shall know educational aims and ideals, their relative place and value and the means by which they may be carried out. Such ends cannot be served by the governing board because success demands that this work be a life study, a profession, and professional knowledge and training cannot be acquired by men engaged in matters outside the schools. Such an educational manager we term the superintendent of schools. The third element is that of trained and competent teachers. To know these teachers and how

to secure them is of itself a life profession. Schools do not build themselves up without intelligence and effort, and to bring good teachers together, each in his proper place, is the highest educational art.

While this art is frequently realized in our city schools, it is the exception rather than the rule. In most of our cities the schools are very inferior in character and influence to what they might or should be. They are often not as good as the private schools they have displaced and not as good proportionally as the ungraded district schools of the country. Such failure, wherever it occurs, is traceable to one cause, the presence of incompetent teachers, through failure of the appointing power which is itself oppressed or superseded by the pressure of personal influence. In other words, what ails our schools is the meddling of outside interests. This begins with the school board; its evils appear in the bad choice of teachers, and it is the children, for whom alone the schools exist, who finally suffer.

The school board is supposed to be made up of men of wisdom, discretion and public spirit, who represent the interests of the people at large and to whom the management of the schools can be safely entrusted. It is the first duty of these men to associate with themselves an expert in education, a superintendent of schools, a man competent to choose, control and dismiss individual teachers, one who has executive ability, by which term is meant the power of working out a

policy through the agency of other men or women. When these relations are normal we always have good schools. The bad schools exist where the school board wantonly betrays the trust of the people or when its members are too ignorant to perform the functions assigned to them. Schools are bad only when they are in the hands of bad teachers, teachers ignorant, indifferent or corrupt. Bad teachers are chosen mainly by bad men, men who are ignorant, indifferent or corrupt. Such choice may happen under a good board which has made an unfortunate choice of superintendent. But this does not often take place, nor will its consequences last very long, for a good board seldom repeats its mistakes. Sometimes bad appointments are made knowingly by a good superintendent, placed in a position where he thinks that he cannot help himself. But this condition again rarely lasts long, for the good superintendent forced to do wrong either saves his honor by resigning or saves his position by ceasing to be good.

We may classify the motives which lead school boards to choose incompetent teachers under three heads, party spoils, political perquisites, and personal spoils.

When a city election is carried it sometimes happens that teachers do active service for the party. Among those who have profited by these efforts may be the school board itself, elected as partisans and chosen from the list of minor political heelers by our

vicious ward system. The higher prizes are reserved for those who make politics a business, but to the teacher-politicians the party managers can offer places in the schools. The political bosses of one party or another order this, and the school board, their creatures, simply register their decree. Coarse and undemocratic as this procedure is, there are many teachers in our state who strain every nerve to become its beneficiaries.

Political perquisites occur when the school board or its leaders are strong enough to repay by their patronage those who have worked directly in their interest. Thus a teacher who has worked successfully for the election of a member of the board from his ward may reasonably look to being advanced to a principalship. In such case, by an agreement among themselves, the representatives of the dominant party in each ward may take care of his own. They divide up the places among themselves and for each appointment made some particular member and not the whole board is responsible. Usually there are places enough to meet the needs of personal perquisites as well as those of party spoils. Which demand is attended to first depends upon the relative rank and greediness of the bosses, big and little.

Both these forms of corruption are due to party fealty and hence have to some degree a public relation. They may not even prevent the choice in many cases of teachers of real efficiency because some mem-

bers of the board are all the more conscientious, since they do not share their individual responsibility.

The third class is that of personal spoils. It sometimes happens that members of school boards look upon their relation to the schools as purely personal, rather than political. They have been chosen to this position to repay them for their own work for some candidate or party and this is the chance offered to get their money back. They are not in politics for their health nor for glory nor for praise. They look only to what there is in it for them. Boards of this sort are constantly beset with financial scandals. Every purchase of school furniture, every adoption of school text-books involves a "rake-off" for somebody and every rake-off gives a chance for a quarrel over the plunder, and, perhaps, for an exposure. The percentage must be big enough to justify them in running the risks. Such a board can be depended on to do the worst the law will let them, taking their chances of impeachment or the penitentiary. But even of this they have no great fear, for their election or appointment indicates the presence of a "friend at court."

A board composed mainly of spoilsmen first organizes a mutual society or trust by which the spoilsmen stand for each other's interests, shutting out the others from all responsibility for action, and all divisions of the spoils. Such a trust is known as the Solid Ten, or a Solid Eight or a Big Four or some other number, and this combination will take what it

can get, permitting no nonsense. If the board elects the superintendent, as it should under normal conditions, this official becomes a tool of this solid combination and meekly carries out the orders they may give him. If the superintendent is chosen directly by the people, as in some cities, he finds himself in constant friction with his board. The board snubs him and ignores his plans and purposes, while for his part he may try to do the best he can in a condition where success is impossible. Still some good men who believed that "a public office is a public trust" have served our cities well even under the most trying conditions. Usually the Solid Eight divide the minor places among their own number, giving each member as many places to fill as he sees fit. This action is of the same moral grade as the embezzlement of public funds and its results are equally disastrous.

The statutes of the states require that each teacher should know a little something of various matters before receiving a license to teach. This minimum of knowledge and training must be met by every teacher who receives an appointment. Those teachers who stand at the bottom of the teaching profession, the least exacting of all professions, struggle for this minimum, and once attaining it, regard an appointment as a favor, a piece of luck, and once on the pay-roll they have no further interest in professional advancement. The better class of teachers are in demand in better schools, where the laborer is worthy of his hire. They

are not "hunting a job," nor are they ready to go out of their way to secure one. Hence the applicants with which mercenary boards have to deal belong mainly to the lowest class of teachers, those without professional interest, or child knowledge; without character or determination, persons wishing to get money with the least possible expenditure of effort. With such candidates individual members of boards have been known to do several things. Among these are (a) selling places outright, (b) putting in their own relatives, (c) trading them with other persons for personal favors, (d) paying debts of various sorts, sometimes those made most corruptly, (e) putting in their own dependents or those of others, (f) using them for purposes of charity.

The motive in each of these cases may be different. The effect on the schools is alike evil. The children, under the influence of spoilsmen and spoilswomen, each day receive a dose of poison, of political corruption. Competent, capable, self-respecting men and women will not take schools under any of these conditions. Good schools cannot be made except by such men and women. Of all these conditions, the one which makes the teacher an object of charity is perhaps the most mischievous. A good school cannot be a hospital for its teachers.

The various forms of school corruption have a variety of evil results. These we may analyze as follows:

1. They injure the schools by making good work impossible.

2. They exclude good teachers.

3. They exclude those who strive to rise in the profession by honorable means.

4. They render places in the schools unstable. This evil has been remedied by a statute prohibiting removals except by a formal trial. This is an evil greater than instability as it tends to perpetuate the results of corruption. There are cities in which a statute against removal has led corrupt boards to enormously multiply the number of useless teachers by adding its own complement to those of its predecessors, thus greatly increasing the cost of the schools without good service. Where the spoils system obtains, rotation in office does no additional harm. Where good schools are desired the power of free removal is scarcely less important than the power of appointment. Competent superintendents will not abuse this power. Good managers do not make charges wantonly.

5. Corrupt conditions keep the best men out of public school work. In general, a competent man will accept a college position at a far lower salary than he would demand in public school work. Graduate students in universities will choose a laboratory position at $600 to $1,000 in preference to a high school instructorship at $1,500 to $2,000, or a superintendency at $2,000 to $2,500. The university offers high

incentives, freedom from intrigue, and final reward for superior service. The public schools cannot guarantee anything. To be dismissed from any position in some of our cities involves no professional discredit, not even the need of explanation. The one thing to be explained is the inducement which led the teacher to accept such a position.

The conditions described prevent cities from securing outside talent. In some great cities where the spoils system has been unchecked, no competent outside teacher would ever think of applying for a position. The superintendent never thinks of looking outside for a teacher. A great city should be ever on the watch for the best talent in the region tributary to it. The city of San Francisco, for example, should be alert to bring in the best teachers of the coast to handle the work in its high schools and grammar schools. I have heard (1899) of but one case of its drawing a teacher from any other city or even of any attempt to do so. The principle of keeping "our own schools for our own girls," wherever accepted, works badly for the schools. It is a species of educational corruption. In some cases a local department called a "normal" has been established so that "the girls who have to teach" will not need to go away from home for their training. But to go away from home is a necessary part of the teacher's training if teaching is to be in any degree a profession. The schools need new blood. The teacher needs new outlooks. In a

well-managed system no teacher will be appointed who has not had, as a teacher or as a student, some experience somewhere else.

If teachers push themselves upward through unprofessional means, teaching cannot be made a profession. If intrigue and flattery, "wire-pulling" or "leg-pulling," masculine arts or feminine arts of swaying the appointing power, furnish means of advancement, the nobler qualifications of love of learning and devotion to the needs of the children will not enter into the competition.

Thus the ranks of our teachers become filled with those who know nothing and have no care to know, with those who use the office of teacher while seeking marriage or an opening in a law office; with those who pay more for the dead birds on their hats than for all the books they read, reckless of the fact that every bird killed wantonly leaves this world a little less worth living in; with those who know more of palmistry than of psychology, of euchre or the two-step than of the art of training children.

The right organization of our schools will leave no place for this class of teachers. It will make teaching a profession not to be lightly undertaken or carelessly performed. It will bring back to the ranks of the public schools many of our most gifted men and women who now find their only attractive career in the overcrowded ranks of the instructorships in the colleges.

How shall we escape from the spoils system? How shall we free our schools from personal interference in the interest of personal ends? The best way to insure good schools is to secure the best superintendent possible and then to give him full power to choose teachers. By this means, and by this alone, is it possible to adapt means to ends and make the school system of a city an instrument which can produce the best results. All great work is the realization of some ideal, and ideal in education, as elsewhere, is the ideal not of a board but of a man. When a man is in control of affairs, a limiting statute prescribing what he shall not do is an impertinence.

The next best way is to secure a superintendent through the means found necessary in the civil service. Let him attend to clerical affairs and select his teachers for him by competitive examination. Such a method is pursued in the service of most enlightened nations, and it has been found almost the only means of keeping this service free from corruption. The competitive examination is not an end in itself, but it is usually the choice of evils. It is never the best way ideally possible, for the surest way to select good servants is to trust a capable and honest man to pick them out. It becomes necessary when we have to deal with men we cannot trust. The civil service methods are used in default of capable and honest men. They serve to pick out fairly good public servants and to exclude political corruption and personal pulls. When the

school service is beset by vulgar politicians and time-servers anxious to help needy relatives and greedy applicants, a system of civil service examinations is our best remedy. But we must remember that no form of competitive examination is an end in itself. It is simply an evil which may be necessary until a higher civic morality and a higher sense of professional honor among teachers renders it superfluous.

Without a competent and trusted superintendent a school system of the highest grade is impossible. But fair results of a lower order may be reached by the choice of teachers through competitive examinations. Without these, under the spoils system pure and simple the schools will be as bad as the bosses dare make them, and none can say that they are cowards. There is not much which they dare not do.

Three ways to remedy the evils of politics in the schools may be suggested:

1. We may appeal to statute. We may tie up the school board and superintendent by laws which shall make a personal or political appointment a misdemeanor. We may place such tampering on the judicial level of embezzlement, where it morally belongs.

But such criminality is hard to define and harder to prove. Besides, statutes avail little unless public opinion backs them. Because the people at large wink at politics in the schools, tolerate it, ignore it or consider it smart, our school boards feel justified in

dividing the spoils. And there is never much value in restrictive laws. We have too many statutory crimes already. Criminal law cannot go beyond public opinion without bringing itself into contempt and thus into ineffectiveness. Only gross offenses, such as sale of places for money or favor or giving them through charity, could be clearly proved, and under any statute even these could be seldom punished. But after all there is a great educational force in the severe enforcement of a just law, even though its purpose be at first not understood.

Negatively we can strengthen the case a little by repealing all statutes that strengthen the teacher's hold on his position. Most of these are in the interest of the incompetent teachers. They are intended to defend the beneficiaries of one administration from being thrown out by the next. The removal of any teacher that holds his place on a pull is likely to be a good thing for the schools. It should be left as easy as possible.

There are certain precedents and methods in the schools of many cities which make it hard for teachers from the outside to secure a foothold. Better employ no native-born teachers than to accept no others. To move about is part of education, and teachers that have never been away from home are not likely to be very stimulating in their professional work.

2. The second method is to educate the community. Let the people know what good schools ought

to be and how much the children suffer from being forced into any other kind. This is a slow method, but it is effectual. For this purpose there is nothing better than object lessons. There are certain cities in California which are object lessons in this regard. We cannot overestimate the value of their example. A competent superintendent can usually purify the board which selects him. Most political crimes come from ignorance rather than from vicious intention. Very many of our officials are inefficient or corrupt simply because they do not know what the people have the right to expect them to do. There are some such who can be brought to take a pride in good schools, if they really see and understand them. There are some superintendents who do sound, honest work trusted by their boards and by their communities. Let the number increase.

3. Educate the teachers. Quite as necessary as the training of the public is the bringing of the teachers to higher standards of professional honor. If the profession is to be raised above the level of wire-pulling we must all do our part. Let us individually cease to look toward pull and intrigue and favoritism, and to trust to the goodness of our records as teachers for our advancement. When our own records are clean we can give attention to the records of others. We should cease to honor wire-pullers by election to office in our associations. We should go as far as the demands of courtesy will let us in refusing them the

right hand of professional fellowship. We should not vote for them when they are candidates for our suffrages. There is as much need of a code of honor in education as in medicine. When teaching becomes a profession the code will be superfluous, for no one really competent and enlightened will violate its natural provisions. Most teachers find positions through the help of other teachers. We should cease to give such help to the wire-puller, the schemer, the self-advertiser, the man who blows his own horn, whatever the key, whether basso or soprano or falsetto. Some of our colleges refuse to recommend or even to recognize their own alumni if these have sought to rise in their profession by irregular means.

It would be well if all colleges and normal schools should adopt this rule: That those who have sought or accepted a political pull should never receive their commendation, personal or official. It is not always easy to prove the truth in matters of this kind, but as such commendation is not a right, it is proper to withhold it in case of doubt. The teacher is an accredited tribune of civilization. He should represent in the community intellectual soundness and moral uprightness. In the minds of our forefathers his place as moral and intellectual guide stood side by side with that of the spiritual guide, the minister. If either calling has fallen from its first estate of honor it is the fault of the men who follow it. Clear-headed, simple-hearted, pure-souled teachers ennoble the profession.

Stupid, untrained, tricky teachers degrade it. And of this we may feel sure, our profession as a whole stands just about where the outside world thinks it does. The cold public hits the truth very exactly. Teachers are, as a rule, overworked and underpaid. At least we say so when we talk it over among ourselves. But I am sure that on the whole teachers get all that they are worth. The fault is in the lack of discrimination between good ones and poor ones. Some teachers certainly are underpaid, grossly underpaid, when we consider the rewards of equal success in almost any other profession. But only real success of one sort or another receives any reward at all in most professions. The worthy and the worthless, the honest and the tricky, the enterprising and the indolent, the enlightened and the ignorant are not paid on the same schedule in any other profession. There are men in our public schools in California whose services would be cheap to any town at $5,000 a year or even $10,000. There are many others who would be dearly bought at $5 a month. And some of each class are paid $1,000 or $2,000 or $3,000 alike, and all are lumped together by the politician and the public as "school teachers." Sooner or later our people will see the difference and act accordingly. If we want better pay we must bring in better men and women, better personally and better professionally. To this end we must so conduct our profession that men and women cannot rise in it through unfair or

corrupt means, and we must give our help and recognition to those who will not do so.

In the schools of today the history of the next generation is written. If there is corruption in the schools we shall see it in the body politic. The only danger which besets democracy is that of political corruption, of misuse of public funds and public trust for personal ends. Democracy has nothing to fear from outside force or domestic tyranny. Its worst enemy is in the dry rot of popular indifference to questions of right and wrong, which brings the wet rot of official imbecility and corruption. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and the public school is the watch-tower on the walls of democracy. If these sentinels sleep, we shall waken to shame.

Eternal vigilance is another name for civic devotion and moral awakening. And because the next generation must be intellectually and morally the reflex of the schools of today, reform in education is the most vital of all reforms.

XIV.

THE LESSONS OF THE TRAGEDY.

WE MEET today under the sway of a number of different emotions. We would express our sorrow at the untimely death of a good man. We would show our regret that our nation has lost the Chief Magistrate of its choice. We would express our sympathy with the gentle woman who has been suddenly bereft of the kindest and most considerate of husbands. We are filled with shame that in our Republic, the land where all men are free and equal wherever they behave themselves as men, the land which has no rulers save the public servants of its own choosing, a deed like this should be possible. We would express our detestation of that kind of political and social agitation which finds no method of working reform save through intimidation and killing. We would wish to find the true lessons of this event and would not let even the least of them fall on our ears unheeded.

And one plain lesson is this: Under democracy all violence is treason. Whosoever throws a stone at a scab teamster, whosoever fires a shot at the president of the Uuited States, is an enemy of the Republic. He is guilty of high treason in his heart, and treason

in thought works itself out in lawlessness of action.

The central fact of all democracy is agreement with law. It is our law; we have made it. If it is wrong we can change it, but the compact of democracy is that we change it in peace. "The sole source of power under God is the consent of the governed." This Cromwell once wrote across the statute books of Parliament. This our fathers wrote in other words in our own Constitution. The will of the people is the sole source of any statute you or I may be called on to obey. It is the decree of no army, the dictum of no president. It is the work of no aristocracy; not of blood nor of wealth. It is simply our own understanding that we have to do right, shall behave justly, shall live and let our neighbor live. If our law is tyrannous, it is our ignorance which has made it so. Let it pinch a little and we shall find out what hurts us. Then it will be time to change. Laws are made through the ballot, and through the ballot we can unmake them. There is no other honest way, no other way that is safe, and no other way that is effective. To break the peace is to invite tyranny. Lawlessness is the expression of weakness, of ignorance, of unpatriotism. If tyranny provokes anarchy, so does anarchy necessitate tyranny. Confusion brings the man on horseback. It was to keep away both anarchy and tyranny that the public school was established in America.

Three times has our nation been called upon to

pass into the shadow of humiliation, and each time in the past it has learned its severe lesson. When Lincoln fell, slavery perished. To the American of today human slavery in a land of civilization is almost an impossible conception, yet many of us who think ourselves still young can remember when half of this land held other men in bondage and the dearest hope of freedom was that such things should not go on forever. I can remember when we looked forward to the time when "at least the present form of slavery should be no more." For democracy and slavery could not subsist together. The Union could not stand—half slave, half free.

The last words of Garfield were these: "*Strangulatus pro Republicâ*" (slain for the Republic). The feudal tyranny of the spoils system which had made republican administration a farce, has not had, since Garfield's time, a public defender. It has not vanished from our politics, but its place is where it belongs—among the petty wrongs of maladministration.

Again a president is slain for the Republic—and the lesson is the homely one of peace and order, patience and justice, respect for ourselves through respect for the law, for public welfare, and for public right.

For this country is passing through a time of storm and stress, a flurry of lawless sensationalism. The irresponsible journalism, the industrial wars, the display of hastily gotten wealth, the grasping of monopoly,

the walking delegate, the vulgar cartoon, the foul-mouthed agitator, the sympathetic strike, the unsympathetic lockout, are all symptoms of a single disease —the loss of patriotism, the decay of the sense of justice. As in other cases, the symptoms feed the disease, as well as indicate it. The deed of violence breeds more deeds of violence; anarchy provokes hysteria, and hysteria makes anarchy. The unfounded scandal sets a hundred tongues to wagging, and the seepage from the gutter reaches a thousand homes.

The journal for the weak-minded and debased makes heroes of those of its class who carry folly over into crime. The half-crazy egotist imagines himself a regicide, and his neighbor with the clean shirt is his oppressor and therefore his natural victim. Usually his heart fails him, and his madness spends itself in foul words. Sometimes it does not, and the world stands aghast. But it is not alone against the Chief Magistrate that these thoughts and deeds are directed. There are usually others within closer range. There is scarcely a man in our country, prominent in any way, statesman, banker, merchant, railway manager, clergyman, teacher even, that has not, somewhere, his would-be Nemesis, some lunatic, with a sensational newspaper and a pistol, prepared to take his life.

The gospel of discontent has no place within our Republic. It is true, as has often been said, that discontent is the cause of human progress. It is truer still, as Mr. John P. Irish has lately pointed out, that

discontent may be good or bad, according to its relation to the individual man. There is a noble discontent which a man turns against himself. It leads the man who fails, to examine his own weaknesses, to make the needed repairs in himself, then to take up the struggle again. There is a cowardly discontent which leads a man to blame all failure on his prosperous neighbor or on society at large, as if a social system existed apart from the men who make it. This is the sort of discontent to which the agitator appeals, that finds its stimulus in sensational journalism. It is that which feeds the frenzy of the assassin who would work revenge on society by destroying its accepted head.

It is not theoretical anarchism or socialism or any other "ism" which is responsible for this. Many of the gentlest spirits in the world today call themselves anarchists, because they look forward to the time when personal meekness shall take the place of all statutes. The gentle anarchism of the optimistic philosopher is not that which confronts us today. It is the anarchy of destruction, the hatred of class for class; a hatred that rests only on distorted imagination, for, after all is said, there are no classes in America. It is the hatred imported from the Old World, excited by walking delegates whose purpose it is to carry a torch through society; a hatred fanned by agitators of whatever sort, unpractical dreamers or conscienceless scoundrels, exploited in the newspapers, abetted by

so-called high society with its display of shoddy and greed, and intensified by the cold, hard selfishness that underlies the power of the trust. All these people, monopolists, social leaders, walking delegates, agitators, sensationalists, dreamers, are alien to our ways, outside the scope of our democracy, and enemies to good citizenship.

The real Americans, trying to live their lives in their own way, saving a little of their earnings and turning the rest into education and enjoyment, have many grievances in these days of grasping trusts and lawless unions. But of such free Americans our country is made. They are the people, not the trusts or the unions, nor their sensational go-betweens. This is their government, and the government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth. This is the people's president — our president — who was killed, and it is ours to avenge him.

Not by lynch law on a large or small scale may we do it; not by anarchy or despotism; not by the destruction of all that call themselves anarchists, not by abridging freedom of the press nor by checking freedom of speech. Those who would wreak lawless vengeance on the anarchists are themselves anarchists and makers of anarchists.

We have laws enough already without making more for men to break. Let us get a little closer to the higher law. Let us respect our own rights and those of our neighbor a little better. Let us cease to

tolerate sensational falsehood about our neighbor, or vulgar abuse of those in power. If we have bad rulers, let us change them peacefully. Let us put an end to every form of intimidation, wherever practiced. The cause that depends upon hurling rocks or epithets, upon clubbing teamsters or derailing trains, cannot be a good cause. Even if originally in the right, the act of violence puts the partisans of such a cause in the wrong. No freeman ever needs to do such things as these. For the final meaning of democracy is peace on earth, good-will towards men. When we stand for justice among ourselves we can demand justice of the monopolistic trust. When we attack it with clear vision and cool speech we shall find the problem of combination for monopoly not greater than any other. And large or small, there is but one way for us to meet any problem: to choose wise men, clean men, cool men, the best we can secure through our method of the ballot, and then to trust the rest in their hands. The murder of the president has no direct connection with industrial war. Yet there is this connection, that all war, industrial or other, loosens the bonds of order, destroys mutual respect and trust, gives inspiration to anarchy, pushes a foul thought on to a foul word, a foul word on to a foul deed.

We trust now that the worst has come, the foulest deed has been committed, that our civil wars may stop, not through the victory of one side over the other, the trusts or the unions now set off against each

other, but in the victory over both of the American people, of the great body of men and women who must pay for all, and who are the real sufferers in every phase of the struggle.

Strangulatus pro Republicâ—slain for the Republic. The lesson is plain. It is for us to take it into our daily lives. It is the lesson of peace and good-will, the lesson of manliness and godliness. Let us take it to ourselves, and our neighbors will take it from us.

All civilized countries are ruled by public opinion. If there be a lapse in our civic duties, it is due to a lapse in our keenness of vision, our devotion to justice. This means a weakening of the individual man, the loss of the man himself in the movements of the mass. Perhaps the marvelous material development of our age, the achievements of the huge coöperation which science has made possible, has overshadowed the importance of the individual man. If so, we have only to reassert ourselves. It is of men, individual men, clear-thinking, God-fearing, sound-acting men, and of these alone, that great nations can be made.

XV.

THE HOPES OF JAPAN.

OF ALL the lands in the world none other has the peculiar fascination of Japan. Others have equal beauty of scenery, greater grandeur of mountain and shore, more noble works of art, more complex problems of society. But none other possesses an equal fascination. No one who has been in the real Japan which lies outside the treaty ports and the foreign hotels and railways ever could or ever would forget his experiences. No one, if he could, would ever fail to return. One goes out each day with the certainty of finding a chain of adventures, and not one of them dangerous or unpleasant.

The great secret of the charm of Japan lies with the people themselves. They have made a fine art of personal relations. Their acts are those of good taste and good humor. Two cities of about the same size and relative importance are Paris and Tokyo. No two could show a greater contrast in spirit. Both are, in a sense, cities of pleasure. Tokyo is a city of continuous joyousness, little pleasures drawn from simple things which leave no sting and draw nothing from future happiness. Compared with many of them, the game of jackstraws would be wild revelry. Paris is

feverish and feels the "difference in the morning" and the "hard, fierce lust and cruel deed" which go with the search for pleasure that draws on the future for the joys of the present.

No one who catches the spirit of Paris can fail to miss the underlying sadness, the pity of it all. The spirit of Tokyo — not of all Tokyo, but of its life as a whole — is as fresh as the song of birds, as "sweet as children's prattle is," and it is good to be under its spell.

Part of this charm lies in the fair scenery of Japan. Great wooded mountains, snowy cones of volcanoes, dashing rivers and resting lakes, each dropped into its place with a wonderful eye to the picturesque. The tall cryptomerias of the central forests rival their sister sequoias and redwoods of the California slopes. The long-armed pine, Chinese in origin, Japanese by adoption (*Pinus thunbergi*), is unique among trees, for wherever it grows it stands as if posing for its portrait, the center of each scene in which it occurs. If there be an island of white ashes in some purple bay, there will stand seven pines in a row across it, each pointing its long arms in seven different directions. On the old royal highway of the feudal days, from end to end of Japan, stand long rows of sheltering pines as old as the dynasty, each with all the individuality of one in the series of kings. The great pine of Karasaki, on the Lake of Biwa, stretches its long arms further, perhaps, than those of any other tree whatsoever in any country.

With the scenery goes the wealth of flowers, the hum of singing insects, and in early days the song of birds, also, until the soulless Paris milliner and the woman with dead warblers on her hat wrought their practical extermination. The geography and the history of Japan each has its charms as well, and these sink deep into the hearts of the Japanese. Every "moor of the red sedges" was once the scene of a great battle. On every mountain pass great deeds were wrought. Even though these names and deeds have long since passed into mythology, yet they are none the less potent to touch the heart of the new as well as of the old Japan. From the great central mountain axis of the main island rocky promontories thrust themselves out across the rice fields far into the sea. The warm Kuro Shiwo, or Black Gulf Stream, comes up from the Philippines and Formosa and washes the crags, Ise and Izu, Kii and Misaki, in which these promontories end. In the warm water and sultry vapor-laden air is developed the richest marine life that dwells on any coast in the whole world. And this abundance of life on land and sea by day or by night is one of the joys of Japan.

With the people themselves the virtues of life are all closely joined together. The name of Bushido, "the warrior's way," means the spirit of honor, the way a man should do things, and this honor covers all the virtues of sobriety, honesty, hopefulness, patriotism and religion. It is the heart of Japanese character.

It makes this character and in turn is created by it.

The Shinto religion, the primitive religion of Japan, is often defined as "ancestor worship." It is more than this, far more, but it is also less than this. It has been called no religion at all, because it has no creed, no ceremonies necessary to its practice, no sacred legends or mysteries, and nothing of the machinery of spiritual power which characterize great religions in other countries. It makes no proselytes. It opposes no belief and insists on none. It is the animating spirit that causes a Japanese to love his children, to be kind to his wife, to help the stranger, to be loyal to Japan, to devote his life to her service, and, above all, to be worthy of the traditions of his ancestry, to be a man, even as his great fathers were, and to do no act which is unworthy of his class of Samurai, of his education or of his training.

No other land has better soldiers than the Japanese, not because of their strength or endurance, for they are a small and feeble folk, but because they will obey orders, because they wish to obey, for in so doing they do their part in the glory and the upbuilding of Japan. The Japanese students belong largely to the Samurai class, the old feudal retainers, and the feeling of loyalty to Japan is the animating spirit in all their studies and in all their work. It is the spirit of honor, the Bushido, the warrior's way, the religion of Japan.

So long as the Japanese keeps this feeling he is

worthy of trust. When he loses his religious spirit, his spirit of personal pride, whatever his rank or creed, he becomes a degenerate, open to the attacks of all the vices. For this reason a Japanese who has lost his self-respect and grown careless or indolent is one of the least useful of men, and soon sinks to the level of the similarly outcast Anglo-Saxon.

These facts will help us to understand certain criticisms on Japan. The merchant complains that the Japanese have no business head and are careless of their contracts. In this connection we may note the paradox in the relations of the Japanese and Chinese to business methods and to public honesty. The Chinese are the business men of the Orient. The word of a Chinese is his bond, and his contracts are carried out to the letter. In Japan the merchant who has miscalculated asks his creditors to pay his debts. This same good nature he shows to others, if conditions are reversed. His sense of good taste is stronger than his sense of equity. Yet, while from the highest to the lowest the public life of China is corrupt, there are few countries on earth so honestly governed as Japan. The spirit of honor animates a Japanese official, and a public office with him is a sacred trust.

The contractor complains that the Japanese laborer is lazy, drunken, overbearing. This is true in a degree, for only the unemployed, the idle and thriftless Japanese are likely to swell the ranks of unskilled or

contract labor. This vicious system of semi-slavery, the social curse and the financial gain of Hawaii, has brought under our flag a class of Japanese not useful to us and not creditable to Japan.

The missionary says that Japan is given over to materialism, and that Herbert Spencer holds greater sway over even the converts to Christianity than the church. The man of science notes the preference of the Japanese scholar for memorization of words or for half-understood abstrusities of philosophy. It is said that there is no philosophy in Japan, and into this vacuum comes Herbert Spencer. The man of the world finds the Japanese immoral, not remembering that vice is everywhere near him that seeks it.

But all these criticisms are skin deep. Under all is the great, loyal, generous nation, the embodiment of good hope, good taste, and good-will, a people who love their homes, their children and their country, on whose soil no foreign invader has ever yet set foot.

The teachers of Tokyo once asked me to speak to them on the subject of "What Japan has to learn from the educational experience of America." In response, I told them that Japan has to learn the value of individual initiative and individual adequacy, that equity is higher than courtesy; that the cure for vice is found not in prohibition, but in the strengthening of the moral backbone of the individual man; that woman must be trained to wisdom if homes are to be the centers of culture and purity, and that the final end of

education is not official promotion, nor personal culture, nor the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake, but the development of personal effectiveness. A man should know the world and his place in it, that he may do his part to the best advantage of himself and others.

But more important than the lessons which I tried to emphasize was the spirit with which the lessons were received. Eager to learn and eager to make use of whatever was new, and behind it all a real preparation for new ideas. In my explorations of the natural history of Japan, even in the most remote villages, I found everywhere men glad to coöperate, with an intelligent comprehension of what I was trying to do. As a Japanese friend remarked, this would not be the case if Japan were not already a truly civilized country.

In returning from Northern Japan to the City of Sendai, in which, on my way northward, I had been most hospitably treated, I received a request from the city officers that I would allow them to visit me at my room.

About a dozen of them came, with editors, lawyers, teachers and other persons of prominence. After the usual compliments, the spokesman said that they would like to know from me how they could make Sendai a better city. He said that—

"Japan was like a country boy who had come to town and found many things which are new and strange. This boy found in America an elder brother,

who could give true advice and honest help in all the difficulties of the new situation. As an American I was welcome to Sendai, and Sendai would like from me all the help I might be willing to give."

After a discussion of what could be done for the clean and wholesome town of Sendai to make it even more clean and wholesome, he touched on the question of Japanese emigration. He was very sorry that the government had allowed men to go out from the cities of the Inland Sea to America as contract laborers. Among these were many bad Japanese, and they had produced a bad impression in America. Many Americans had come to think that all Japanese were like these. But those who, like me, had seen the Japanese at home knew they were not. The government of Japan understands this situation and will let no more contract laborers leave the country. Only the student, the skilled artisan, the good citizen of Japan will be allowed to come to America, and any wish of America, if courteously made known to Japan, will be fully respected.

The Japanese everywhere feel toward America a peculiar, almost romantic, gratitude. It was America who in 1854 first opened Japan to the activities of the West, and furnished the occasion for the downfall of the outworn feudal system and the dual role of Shogun and Mikado. It was America who led in the establishment of the Japanese school system and the great Imperial University at Tokyo. It was America who

was first willing to allow Japan full jurisdiction in her own ports, which had been opened to foreign residence and foreign trade. To Japan, America is her nearest and best friend among the nations, her guide and leader in paths which are new and strange.

The lesson of the Shimoneseki incident in 1863 has never been lost on Japan. Every schoolboy knows it and its meaning. Certain ships, Dutch, French and American, passing through the Inland Sea, were fired on at Shimoneseki. Afterward these, with a British ship, bombarded and destroyed the town, collecting at the same time $3,000,000 as indemnity, which was divided among the Powers. Later investigation showed that the blame was not all on one side, and the United States returned the $750,000 to Japan. This chivalrous act of common courtesy, never known before or since among great Powers, at once placed the United States in a class apart in dealing with affairs in the Orient. When the vulgar politicians of Europe whom we call the "Great Powers" ceased nagging Japan, outrages and unfriendly feeling passed away. The lesson of all this is worth heeding in the great tragedy of the vivisection of China. For genuine commerce rests on a basis of mutual trust and mutual esteem. Trade cannot be built up by force of arms, nor are its profits ever great enough to make good the cost and waste of a great army. Of all the nations of the Orient, Japan is the only one which can in truth be called well governed. Japan is the only

one which has had undisturbed possession of herself. The Japanese choose their own ruler, make their own laws, train their own armies, control their own trade. They are the only Oriental people free from the mighty curse of opium, for they have the right to exclude it from their ports. The trade of Japan is great and growing. The profits of this trade must go to those from whom the Japanese may choose to buy. To the end of controlling this trade and through it the trade of the Orient to which Japan holds the key, we have to offer only fair dealing, personal courtesy, and the chivalrous spirit which draws together men and nations.

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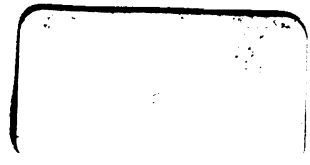

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